Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

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THE TRAGEDY OF MEXICO

BY THE EDITOR

Let our object be our country, our whole country and nothing but our country, and, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!—Daniel Webster at Bunker Hill.

1. OUR WAR UPON HUERTA

It is a coincidence of unhappy augury that our present interposition in the affairs of the Mexican republic marks the second anniversary of our first intervention. In August, 1913, the Honorable John Lind waited upon President Victoriano Huerta and as the "personal spokesman and representative" of the President of the United States, requested that "security be given for an early and free election" and that General Huerta "bind himself not to be a candidate." On August 27th President Wilson, addressing the Houses of Congress in person, announced that, although Mr. Lind "executed his delicate and difficult mission with singular tact, firmness and good judgment," the proposals which he submitted had been rejected. He attributed the rebuff to a probable misunderstanding of "the spirit of the American people" and of their "sober determination that some just

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solution be found for the Mexican difficulties." He was confident, however, that "the steady pressure of moral force" would "before many days break down the barriers of pride and prejudice." Meanwhile, he should "follow the best practises of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of munitions of war to any part of the Republic of Mexico," since we could not be "the partisans of either party or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them."

Again—in November—Mr. Lind visited President Huerta and presented an explicit demand for his retirement, which was in turn rejected. Whereupon—on December 2nd, 1913—the President appeared before the Houses of Congress and denounced "the usurpation of Victoriano Huerta" as having constituted "a mere military despotism," which was doomed to failure. "Little by little," the President continued, "he has been completely isolated. By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions."

The President's confidence was based upon the success of his endeavors to dissuade bankers from advancing money to the Huerta Government; but again he was disappointed. Consequently, on February 3rd, 1914, he abandoned "the *best* practises of nations in the matter of neutrality" and lifted the embargo upon arms, saying in an explanatory statement that "the executive order under which the exportation of arms and ammunition into Mexico is forbidden was a departure from the *accepted* practises of neutrality—a deliberate departure from those practises under a well-considered joint resolution of Congress—determined upon in circumstances which have now ceased to exist." The purpose of this action, frankly avowed by the State Department, was to enable our Government to "sit back and wait for the Constitutionalists to do the work of ridding Mexico of Huerta," reversing necessarily the President's determination formally declared to the Congress not to become the partisan of either side.

But the Constitutionalists were unable to perform their part. Four months elapsed, and Huerta was still in authority.

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Consequently, on April 20th, 1914, the President again appeared before the Congress and sought approval of his intention to " use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such extent as might be necessary," ostensibly to obtain from General Huerta a salute for the flag and " fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States," but really to drive him from power. The obedient House of Representatives promptly complied with the President's request and passed a resolution approving his announced intention to employ the army and navy in an attack upon Victoriano Huerta. Senators Lodge and Root opposed as unprecedented and unwise the virtual making of war by the United States upon an individual, and Huerta's name was finally eliminated from the resolution; but the change was in form, not in substance, and the President's enforcement of his demand was pronounced " justified." Simultaneously—*i.e.*, while the Senate was debating the resolution—the entire Atlantic squadron attacked and captured Vera Cruz, with a loss on our side of nineteen killed and one hundred wounded, and of several hundred killed and wounded of Mexicans—including men, women and children, who felt that they were as fully warranted in resisting invasion as were the farmers of Lexington.

So began the sixth foreign war of the United States. Our troops were landed without difficulty, shipment of arms to Mexican ports was prohibited by executive order, our allies under the command of Generals Carranza, Villa and Zapata, supplied with unlimited munitions from the United States, were spurred on to renewed activities, and, one by one, the defenses of the enemy were broken down, until further resistance became useless, and, on July 15th, Huerta resigned and left his country. It had taken the President eleven months to enforce his decree, but the feat was finally accomplished and, according to the Associated Press, " great joy " was manifested " by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan."

Unfortunately, however, the war was not concluded. Huerta withdrew to Spain for a time, but subsequently appeared in this country and established himself with his family on Long Island. There he remained under the surveillance of the Secret Service until June 24th of the present year, when he started ostensibly for California by the Southern Pacific Railway, in order, so he declared, that he might pay a visit to his daughter in Texas.

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Active hostilities were then resumed. On June 27th Federal officers, supported by a troop of cavalry, took the enemy from the train at Newman, Texas, conveyed him under strong guard to El Paso and deposited him in cell No. 32 of the county jail. The arrest was made by order of United States Commissioner Oliver upon the following complaint and affidavit of Clifford G. Beckham, Special Agent of the Department of Justice:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS. } ss.: EL PASO DIVISION.

Before me, Geo. B. Oliver, a United States Commissioner for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division, personally appeared this day C. G. Beckham, who, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that on or about the 20th day of June, A. D. 1915, at El Paso, Texas, and divers other points in the United States in said District, one Victoriano Huerta and one Pascual Orozco, Jr., one Jose Zozaya, and divers other persons to affiant unknown, in violation of Sections 37 and 13 of the Penal Code of the United States, did unlawfully conspire, combine, confederate and agree together to begin and set on foot, and provide and prepare the means for a military expedition to be carried on from the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, against the territory and dominions of the United States of Mexico, with whom the said United States of America are at peace, and that on, to wit: the 20th day of June, 1915, the said Jose Zozaya did purchase and cause to be shipped to and stored at a warehouse at Fifth and Santa Fe Streets, large quantities of military supplies, consisting of machine guns, rifles and ammunition therefor, to wit: 5 machine guns, 520 rifles and one hundred thousand rounds of ammunition therefor, with the intent and purpose on his part and the part of his said co-conspirators, that the same should be thereafter used in effecting the object of the said conspiracy and equipping the men then and there intended to be and become a part of said military expedition and enterprise, contrary to the form of the statute in such cases made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the United States of America.

Deponent further says that he has reason to believe and does believe that Lieut. M. C. Shallenberger, Capt. L. L. Hall, Dr. Arguelles are material witnesses to the subject matter of the complaint.

(Deponent's signature) CLIFFORD G. BECKHAM,
Special Agent, Department of Justice.

Sworn to before me, and subscribed in my presence, this 27th day of June, A. D. 1915.

(Seal) GEO. B. OLIVER,
United States Commissioner as aforesaid.

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(Endorsed on Back.)
No. 1445
United States Comr's Court.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
vs.
VICTORIANO HUERTA, *et al.*
AFFIDAVIT.

I hereby certify that the within is a true and correct copy of the original affidavit on file.

GEO. B. OLIVER.

On July 3rd a second affidavit was made by another special agent of the Department of Justice to the effect that—

One Victoriano Huerta, in violation of Sections 37 and 13 of the Penal Code of the United States, did unlawfully conspire, confederate and agree with one R. Gomez Robelo, and with divers other persons to affiant unknown, and thereafter, in furtherance and pursuance of said unlawful conspiracy and to effect the object of the same, the said R. Gomez Robelo, secretary of the said Pascual Orozco, did write a letter to said Enrique Gorostiete, advising him that the said Pascual Orozco had formed a movement to operate from the United States against Mexico, and was counting upon said Gorostiete as one of the strong men in said movement.

Deponent further says that he has reason to believe and does believe that various witnesses whose names are to be furnished later, and documentary evidence known to and in the hands of the agents of the United States of America, are material witnesses to the subject matter of the complaint.

(Deponent's signature) STEPHEN L. PINCKNEY,
Special Agent, Dept. of Justice.

The two sections of the Federal Penal Code referred to read as follows:

Section 37. If two or more persons conspire either to commit any offense against the United States or to defraud the United States in any manner or for any purpose, and one or more of such parties do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, each of the parties to such conspiracy shall be fined not more than ten thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

Section 13. Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begins, or sets on foot, or provides or prepares the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, shall be fined not more than three thousand dollars and imprisoned not more than three years.

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General Huerta was held fast in cell No. 32 twelve days. His secretary, Mr. J. B. Ratner, who was imprisoned with him in the same cell, complained bitterly of the vermin, but, according to the New York *World's* correspondent, Huerta bade him be silent. "Cheer up," he said. "Pretend that we are in a wonderful castle with marble floors and walls, and that these bars are made of gold." To the Boston *Herald* correspondent, however, on July 4th he did confess that it was "a little close in here" and that he was beginning to miss his customary exercise. "But," he added philosophically, "I have been in close places before and I am enjoying my novel experience of being in jail in liberty-loving America on the very day you celebrate liberty and justice and independence." On July 8th the *World* correspondent conveyed to him an intimation from Washington that the case against him might be dismissed if he would return to the northern part of the United States and remain there. To this he replied simply, "If the United States should grant me my liberty upon condition that it control my future actions I should refuse to accept it." He also declared that he would not attempt to obtain a bond. "Why should I take that trouble," he inquired, "only to be harassed as I was by the deputies and bring additional fright to my daughter and her family, and then perhaps be rearrested and subjected to more indignities?"

On July 9th Huerta was arraigned before United States Commissioner Oliver, asserted his innocence, waived a preliminary hearing and was committed for trial on December 20th of the present year—six months after his apprehension. Simultaneously he was removed to Fort Bliss, no less to his own satisfaction than to the presumed chagrin of the rats and lice in the county jail. "Anything to get out of that jail," he remarked to the *Times* correspondent, "will suit me, and I am pleased that I am to be the guest of the army once more, for that is where I love to be, and I do not deserve to be jailed as a common felon when I have done nothing. The army knows how to care for a military man and I am entirely satisfied. At first I was worried because I was leaving my friends behind, but now that I know they are released I am as happy as an old man under such a charge could be. I will sleep my first peaceful sleep in two weeks to-night, for I am with the army, and that is my element."

The combined civil and military operation which thus

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eventuated in the capture and incarceration of the entire force opposed to the United States in its sixth foreign war won less public acclaim than might have been anticipated. There appeared no signs of general rejoicing and, to the best of our information, no church bells were rung. In point of fact, the press did not seem to appreciate the magnitude and significance of the achievement. "Huerta," said the *World* disgustedly, "is in this country by sufferance. If his purpose in visiting El Paso was innocent, it was a piece of stupidity to arrest him. If the Government has knowledge to the contrary, by this time he might well be on his way to the port where he entered, awaiting the first ship to sail. The case has been handled in a way so hesitating and indecisive as to assume the aspects of a painful farce." And the San Francisco *Argonaut* confessed in seeming bewilderment:

> It is not easy to see that there was any justification for General Huerta's arrest. His right to live and travel in the United States can not be questioned. His right to cross the border into Mexico, if he shall so desire, is likewise beyond question. He is a citizen of Mexico, and surely he may not be debarred from going into his own country. The privilege of passing the border has again and again been yielded without question to the President's friends, Carranza and Villa, and to other revolutionary leaders. Why in the name of common sense, why in the name of common decency, this persistent discrimination, this vigilant persecution of General Huerta? We can discover no motive unless it may be found in prejudice and malice on the part of President Wilson.
>
> The *Argonaut* wishes to register itself as among those who sympathize with the "deep hurt" that General Huerta has received at the hands of American authority. Let the point of justification of his arrest and detention be waived; there still remains the matter of his personal treatment. Huerta is a man of rank and dignity in the world. He has been the head of a neighboring nation. He is a soldier of distinction. He has a right to be treated as a gentleman and a man of honor. But our Government, which now for more than two years has pursued him with relentless bitterness on a purely gratuitous assumption, which has hindered and thwarted him in grievous ways, now declines to accept his word of honor and insists upon confining him like a common felon in a dirty prison. It's a shameless business—all the more shameless because there is in it an element of vulgar cheapness. General Huerta, sitting on his prison pallet, confesses his "deep hurt." Verily there are those of us who feel in connection with this incident a sense of deep shame.

Obviously our distinguished contemporaries misappre-

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hend the situation. They should study the indictments set forth in the complaints of the Special Agents of the Department of Justice printed above. True, the usual rules of pleading in criminal cases, which call for specific designation of the prince or government threatened, are not followed, but how could this have been done when everybody knows that Mexico has no prince, and our own President has repeatedly declared that she has no government? Granting, too, that the Supreme Court may have been right when, in the case of the Lareda, 85 Federal Report, 760, it declared that "neutrality laws are designed to prevent distinctly hostile acts against a friendly Power which tend to involve this country in war," is not the impossibility of making the definition fit the case apparent since the Mexican people hardly constitute a Power and, in truth, appear not unduly friendly? Even though no indication appears in the affidavits of the Special Agents of the Department of Justice that Huerta has conspired either to "commit an offense against" or to "defraud" the United States, is it not a fact nevertheless that he has been recognized officially as an enemy from the day on which he refused to "go"?

It is not Huerta, to be sure, but "one Jose Zozaya," who is accused by Special Agent Beckham of purchasing and storing "large quantities of military supplies," but no evidence has been adduced to prove that he might not have done so, and if he had who can deny that his act would have been "contrary to the form of the statute" and "against the peace and dignity of the United States"? Admitting, too, as we must, that Mr. Zozaya's "to wit: 5 machine guns, 520 rifles and 100,000 rounds of ammunition" do not seem alarmingly impressive when contrasted with the thousands of guns and millions of rounds of ammunition openly purchased and taken into Mexico by Villa, shall mere "neutrality" be held to prevent the making of a distinction between an enemy and a kow-towing friend, even though the friend be a murderer, a cutthroat and a thief? The fact, moreover, that for the past two years juntas and rebel generals without number have been operating and "conspiring" openly in New York, in El Paso, in San Antonio and most persistently in Washington, "perfecting military expeditions contrary to the statute and against the peace and dignity of the United States," has no real bearing upon the case in hand. We were not at war with them, and are not now—at least not yet.

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However unconvincing Special Agent Beckham's accusations may appear, it is quite impossible to ignore the force and conclusiveness of Special Agent Pinckney's supplementary charge against Huerta, that "said R. Gomez Robelo did write a letter to said Enrique Gorostiete, advising him that the said Pascual Orozco had formed a movement to operate from the United States against Mexico, and was counting upon said Gorostiete as one of the strong men in said movement." There is nothing equivocal here; the statement is as clear and explicit as Germany's explanation of her method of maintaining the neutrality of Belgium.

So we might continue indefinitely in technical justification of the prompt and effective action of the Department of Justice, ably supported by a troop of cavalry. But further exposition would be wasteful. Military necessity, as the Kaiser demonstrated when, with full knowledge that we might protest subsequently, he sank the *Lusitania*, is the overpowering law in war. Upon that axiom and precedent our present Government can and apparently does take its usual firm stand. No doubt we should have denounced so arbitrary an act by the Tsar of Russia as a striking and shameful example of the arrogance and injustice of an Autocracy, but done by a President of the United States it becomes sanctified as a wise and prudent exploit of a Democracy pledged to jealous maintenance of personal liberty.

As a matter of historical fact, specific authority to exercise such peremptory power was conferred upon the President by the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798, which, as recorded by the historian Woodrow Wilson, "authorized the arrest and deportation of dangerous aliens at the discretion of the President, even in time of peace . . . upon the mere suspicion of the President"—as, in this case, that Huerta connived at the killing of Madero. But, the historian continues, "there was no telling where such exercises of power would stop. Their only limitations and safeguards lay in the temper and good sense of the President and the Attorney-General. Protests came from every part of the country and grew ominously in volume from month to month,—and petitions for repeal couched in every form and bearing thousands of signatures. . . . Clearly the Federalists had gone too far. The indictment of their enemies seemed proved,—they were the party of power, of autocratic power, and not the party of popular privilege."

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So the issue was joined, and the party of Jefferson and Jackson and Tilden and Wilson sprang into being as a consequence of the revolt of the people against practises unbefitting a true democracy, and the hateful Alien Act, which even Adams had hesitated to invoke, was consigned to oblivion. That it should now be revived in effect by the direct political descendant and heir of the Founder of Democracy savors, it must be confessed, of irony; but, as we have noted, circumstances had changed and no question of principle was involved, for the simple reason, succcinctly stated by Senator Lodge, that "an animosity is not a policy."

In any case we, the people of the United States, represented by the Commander-in-Chief, the Department of Justice and the regular army, have met the enemy and he is ours. Whatever may be the ultimate outcome in court in the case of the United States of America *vs.* Victoriano Huerta, there seems to be little doubt that, thanks to the vigilance and resolution of our civil and military officers, our sixth foreign war has finally been brought to a successful conclusion, and disobedience on the part of neighboring Presidents is definitely engrafted upon our fundamental law as a high crime and misdemeanor against the new freedom attained by our own.

II. COUNTING THE COST

Considering that war is the most expensive of national necessities, the direct cost of driving Huerta from the Presidency of Mexico cannot be regarded as excessive. The taking of Vera Cruz, as already noted, involved the loss of only nineteen killed and one hundred wounded, and the subsequent occupation of the city by our troops required an expenditure of less than ten million dollars. The fatalities among the defending Mexicans need not, of course, be considered. Indeed, the only serious immediate consequence of our successful *coup* is to be found in the statement of Secretary Daniels that the disquieting deficiency in the marksmanship of the navy is attributable to the lack of target practise, which was rendered unavoidable by the holding of the squadron for so long a time in Mexican waters.

The indirect cost of our sixth war, however, is not inconsiderable. Under Huerta, American lives were safe and American properties were secure, but from the moment when

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we substituted anarchy for government both lives and properties became the prey of the bandits let loose. Thus far the State Department, departing from its decreed policy of pitiless publicity, has refrained from publishing the complaints filed by relatives and owners. It is known, however, that hundreds of Americans, and perhaps a score of English, Germans and Spaniards, have been murdered, and that properties aggregating in value more than one billion dollars have been confiscated or destroyed. For these depredations it is presumed that at some future day reparation will be sought. Indeed, the foreign Governments whose nationals are concerned have already notified our Government that they shall hold us to what has come to be known, and what apparently they really mean, as "strict accountability."

Whether our own citizens will receive like consideration, in view of our present Administration's firm denial of protection to those who forsake their native land, is a question. It has been suggested by those who would make the former Secretary of State the scapegoat for Mexico, that Mr. Bryan was the originator of this novel doctrine, and that his withdrawal from the Cabinet opens the way to resumption of our traditional practise of safeguarding the rights of Americans the world over. We find little hope, however, in this assumption. Not only would President Wilson never have permitted promulgation of a vital policy disapproved by himself, but in this instance his implied sanction was conveyed through another highly credited official representative. On May 7th, 1914, a party of American refugees from Tampico waited upon Secretary Daniels to inquire whether, if they should return, they could rely upon the protection of their own Government. Secretary Daniels gave out for publication the following account of the interview:

"When they came in," said the Secretary, "I thought they had come to thank us for what the navy did for them at Tampico, to express their appreciation of our action in saving their lives. I said to them: 'Why, you are lucky to get out with your lives. You look healthy and strong to me and you ought to be glad you are safe.'

"They told me they thought they might lose their property, and they said that if it had not been for the British and German naval commanders they would have been left without protection and at the mercy of the enraged Mexicans.

"I said to the men: 'If Admiral Mayo had gone in there you all would have been massacred. I think you ought to thank this

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Government for saving your lives instead of complaining because Rear Admiral Mayo did not attack the town.'

"They asked me what was to be the policy of the United States with respect to Americans owning property in Mexico. I suppose if I owned property in Mexico I would feel the same way they do about their right to protection.

"But I said to them: 'Why did you leave the United States and go to Mexico? You went there because you preferred to invest your money there rather than in the United States. You thought that by investing your money in Mexico you could make more than if you stayed in the United States. Isn't that true?'

"They did not deny it. Then I said: 'If that is true, if you expect greater returns than you can get in the United States, then you must take the risk of losing your property. If you prefer to go there and purchase property, you must not expect the people of the United States to pay taxes for the support of an army to protect your property in Mexico.'"

While the policy thus clearly indicated cannot easily be held to conform to the President's encouragement of American manufacturers to extend their trading and thus demonstrate the utility of lower tariff rates, its authoritativeness can hardly be questioned, especially in the light of the President's public declaration in New York on May 17th, 1915, in the course of which he singled out Secretary Daniels as one member of his Cabinet who held his "confidence and admiration"; who had his "unqualified support," and with whom it was his custom to "counsel in intimate fashion." It would seem, therefore, that the American lives and properties sacrificed in Mexico must be accounted a total loss. If so, in computing the cost of the war to date, there must be added to the one hundred and nineteen marines killed and wounded, and the ten millions or thereabouts directly expended, approximately four hundred American lives and several hundred millions of American properties sacrificed, to obtain the elimination of Huerta.

But the chief loss necessarily has fallen upon the Mexicans themselves, of whom, as the President truly said in his memorable address to Congress as long ago as August 27th, 1913, "we are glad to call ourselves the friends," and as their friends "sooner than as their enemies" should like to "triumph" when "before many days" the "steady pressure of moral force shall break down the barriers of pride and prejudice." Conditions in Mexico at that time were not good; neither were they irretrievably bad. Small

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rebellions under lawless leaders had sprung up in consequence of our refusal to recognize the existing Government, but the embargo still rested upon guns and ammunition, and the bandits of the north could not hope to achieve a national victory. The real slaughter upon a large scale did not begin until February 3rd, 1914, when the embargo was lifted and the rebels were enabled to translate the fruit of their pillaging into munitions of war, in the expressed hope of the Administration that they might accomplish by fighting what the "steady pressure of moral force" had unexpectedly failed to achieve. Even then and for months thereafter there remained a semblance of observance of the rules of civilized warfare, as patiently outlined by General Scott to the surprised and incredulous Villa. But when, having finally "triumphed" over Huerta and driven him from power, our work was finished, to the "great joy" of the Administration, and we naturally and logically withdrew our troops, the last vestige of restraint was removed.

From that day to this Mexico has been a shambles—a mere "sideshow," perhaps, in the words of Assistant President House; but, nevertheless, a shambles compared with which devastated Belgium is as a German garden. Evidence to this effect is so overwhelming, and has been so widely disseminated, that it need not be cited. As an inevitable consequence, in the words of the President in his appeal for succor addressed to the American people on May 28th, "the unfortunate people of Mexico have been reduced to the verge of starvation, and unless assistance is rendered them many may die for lack of food." That many—many thousands, in fact—have so died is a certainty. Even the Brazilian Minister, who has acted for the United States in Mexico City since the withdrawal of our own representative, reported to his Government that he and his family were suffering from hunger. It was but natural, therefore, that the President should "appeal most earnestly" for supplies of food, especially "corn, rice, beans and flour."

And yet there was and is no serious lack of foodstuffs in Mexico. The starvation of the Mexican people is directly attributable to the confiscation of cattle, rice, beans and flour by the bandit chieftains, and their sale or exchange for guns and ammunition with the connivance of our own Government. "In its determination to put an end to anarchy, starvation and chaos in Mexico," wrote the Washington cor-

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respondent of the *World* on May 29th, "the United States Government has constantly before it the fact that American guns and cartridges have made the present situation possible. The Administration has evidence to prove that these guns and cartridges with which the heart of Mexico has been bled were paid for with money which was received in great part for cattle and other foodstuffs which were stolen and shipped across the American border while the owners were being reduced to a state of starvation. More than a year ago Secretary of War Garrison called to the attention of the Administration reports from army officers indicating that the country was being pillaged and looted by bands of marauders calling themselves patriots, and that it would be advisable to put an embargo on arms without delay. All the War Department reports indicated plainly that the country would be reduced to its present state and that the United States eventually would find itself responsible for a wrecked nation."

Villa alone collected "export taxes" on more than 10,000 carloads of foodstuffs sent through El Paso during the past eighteen months, and shipments to the United States over a single railroad on the West coast included the following:

Sugar and panocha	23,346,240	lbs.
Tomatoes	7,171,048	lbs.
Green vegetables	87,180	lbs.
Beans	43,052,000	lbs.
Cattle by rail	51,152	head
Cattle on hoof	112,967	head

In return for these necessaries of life the bandits received rifles and cartridges. The *Sun's* investigator, who obtained the above information at first hand, reported as follows on August 15th:

The Washington Administration's own record of the arms and ammunition shipments of American origin to Mexico after President Wilson had lifted the Taft embargo on February 3, 1914, follows:

Rifles, including Winchesters, Remingtons, Springfields, "30-30s," "30-40s," and others	72,912
Carbines, revolvers, pistols, shotguns and sabres	2,381
Rapid-fire guns, including machine, Colt, Hotchkiss and Gatling guns	69
Pieces of artillery, various classes	12
Cartridges for rifles of various sorts, rounds	34,808,186

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Cartridges for revolvers, rounds.....	742,350
Field artillery ammunition of various sorts, rounds.....	14,900

This list does not include the munitions of war that went to the Mexicans by water from Gulf ports. Nor does it include aeroplanes, dynamite, powder, rockets, blasting machines and other instruments of death. The writer has information that more than 100,000 rifles and at least 50,000,000 rounds of cartridges are much nearer the mark than the official figures of the Administration's contribution to Mexico's reign of terror.

In the light of the possible intervention in force "to feed the starving Mexicans," publication of these facts is a patriotic service, no matter whose feet get pinched. For in such a contingency our soldiers would have to face the fire of the very rifles and machine guns the present Administration sanctioned sending into Mexico.

The Administration has refused to profit from the lesson of Vera Cruz, when for seven months last year our lads stood in battle array before a Mexican enemy armed with American guns.

"The idea of America," said the President to the graduates of the Naval Academy on June 5th, "is to serve humanity;" and so, no doubt, it is; but what of the *practise* of the American Government in this particular instance? Does the action suit the word? Needless, perhaps, to add, the traffic in foodstuffs for guns and bullets still continues unrebuked and unabated.

III. FROM "WATCHFUL WAITING" TO ACTION

Speaking in Indianapolis on January 8, 1915, the President reiterated with great positiveness his adherence to the policy of "watchful waiting," and defined his position with respect to the future with marked explicitness. These were his words:

I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government, and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, 80 per cent. of the people of Mexico never had a look-in in determining who should be their Governors or what their Government should be.

It is none of my business and it is none of your business how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business and it is none of yours how they go about the business. The country is theirs, the Government is theirs, and the liberty, if they can get it, and God speed them in getting it, is theirs, and so far as my influence goes, while I am President, nobody shall interfere with it.

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Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilt as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak? No, I say. I am proud to belong to a strong nation that says, "This country, which we could crush, shall have just as much freedom in her own affairs as we have. If I am strong I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people." And I know when I speak these things, not merely from the gracious response with which they have just met from you, but from my long-time knowledge of the American people, that that is the sentiment of the American people.

With all due respect to editors of great newspapers, I have to say to them I never take my opinion of the American people from their editorials. So that when some great dailies not very far from where I am temporarily residing thundered with rising scorn at watchful waiting, Woodrow sat back in his chair and chuckled, knowing that he laughs best who laughs last; knowing, in short, what were the temper and principles of the American people.

This definite pledge of non-interference on the part of the United States, coupled as it was with the forbidding of interposition by other nations, bore great cheer to the plundering bandits. They were free to rob and ravish for another two years at least. Carranza posted a translation of the declaration upon every tree and telegraph pole within reach of his minions, and, in common with the other chiefs, confidently assumed an attitude of increased arrogance toward Americans in Mexico, and of disdain of Americans at home whose President had assured the world, in his speech at Philadelphia, that they were "too proud to fight."

But the bandits reckoned without their host. Five months later—i. e., on June 2nd—the President, after recounting that "Mexico is apparently no nearer a solution of her tragical troubles than she was when the revolution was first kindled," addressed the brigand chiefs as follows:

It is time, therefore, that the Government of the United States should frankly state the policy which in these extraordinary circumstances it becomes its duty to adopt. It must presently do what it has not hitherto done or felt at liberty to do—lend its active moral support to some man or group of men. . . .

I therefore publicly and very solemnly call upon the leaders of factions in Mexico to act—to act together and to act promptly for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country. I feel it to be my duty to tell them that if they cannot accommodate their differ-

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ences and unite for this great purpose within a very short time, this Government will be constrained to decide what means should be employed by the United States in order to help Mexico save herself and serve her people.

The " very short time " elapsed on August 11, 1915, the date of our second formal intervention—two years less fourteen days after the President first appeared before the Houses of Congress and announced his determination to " triumph before many days as Mexico's friends " through " the steady pressure of moral force " upon " the barriers of pride and prejudice."

Here ends the record as of the present.

IV. AMERICAN OR ANÆMIC?

The net result of two years of endeavor on the part of our Government to " serve mankind " in Mexico was stated with rare succinctness by the President on June 2nd in these words:

" Mexico is starving and without a government."

To that simple statement of fact nothing need be added; nothing, alas, can be taken away. It summarizes the entire situation so far as our neighboring Republic is concerned.

But there is another phase which, though less pitiful and heartrending, bears a much wider significance. It relates to the value of American citizenship and directly concerns the honor of the Nation. Must Americans hereafter regard themselves as men without a country? That is the vital question now raised for the first time in the history of the Republic. More than a century ago Chief Justice John Marshall wrote into an opinion of the Supreme Court the following explicit declaration:

> The American citizen who goes into a foreign country, although he owes local and temporary allegiance to that country, is yet, if he performs no other act changing his condition, entitled to the protection of our Government; and if, without the violation of any municipal law, he should be oppressed unjustly, he would have a right to claim that protection, and the interposition of the American Government in his favor would be considered a justifiable interposition.

Not only have three foreign wars been waged to sustain this fundamental principle, but it has been reiterated many

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times with respect to Mexico. Secretary Evarts wrote to our Minister in 1877:

> The first duty of a government is to protect life and property. This is a paramount obligation. For this governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it become worse than useless. Protection in fact to American lives and property is the sole point upon which the United States are tenacious.

Secretary Bayard took and maintained the same position. The Democratic party in its platform adopted at Baltimore also declared:

> The Constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world; and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and for his property.

And President Wilson, in his address to Congress on August 27, 1913, said firmly:

> We should let every one who assumes to exercise authority in any part of Mexico know, in the most unequivocal way, that we shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away, and shall hold those responsible for their sufferings and losses to a definite reckoning. That can be and will be made plain beyond the possibility of a misunderstanding.

But when Americans residing in Mexico whose properties had been destroyed or were being threatened sought the aid of their Government in Washington they were denied an audience; the new doctrine that citizens of the United States possessed no rights beyond the borders of their country was enunciated repeatedly by Secretary Bryan and by Secretary Daniels as quoted above; the complainants were told sternly that they should have stayed at home; and those stranded in Mexico were warned by the President to forsake their homes and properties when it was physically impossible for them to do so. Even the privilege of communicating with their countrymen or of making their sorry plight known to the public was refused. On March 9, 1915, when the censorship left the State Department as the only channel of communication with relations and friends, the Americans in Mexico City forwarded a statement of conditions to Washington with a plea that it be made public. To this appeal the Secretary of State replied, through the Brazilian

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Minister, that the Government was doing what it could to relieve the situation, and added:

"Your message has been laid before the President. He does not think it would contribute to the welfare of Americans there to give your statement to the press."

Before the shocking statement finally reached the newspapers, through private channels, on April 15th, John B. McManus, an American living under the American flag, was assassinated, and the flag itself was dragged through the streets and defiled. Pecuniary reparation was made subsequently by Zapata to the family of the murdered man, but no apology for desecration of the flag was exacted.

"It is understood," wrote the *World's* correspondent on March 25th, "that Villa will get a note written by the President similar in tone to the one he sent to Carranza several weeks ago announcing that the patience of this country has been sorely tried and that the United States Government will feel compelled to hold him personally responsible unless proper amends are made."

Whether such a note was sent is not known. In any case, no amends were made and, according to Secretary Bryan, "no salute was demanded as in the Tampico affair," which afforded a pretext to turn the army and navy upon Huerta and drive him from power. The *World* continued:

> Attention was called to-day to the fact that no indemnity has been paid for any of the Americans murdered by various revolutionaries, and that, except in rare instances, no murderer has been punished, although promise of reparation has always been made.

In a word, so far as is known, except against Huerta, no recognition of the American flag has been required, and no reparation for loss of American lives or properties, except in the case of McManus, has been demanded.

"What wonder," ejaculated the Philadelphia *Star* when the *Lusitania* was sunk, "that Germany, or any other nation, should come to the conclusion that it could do as it liked with Americans and the American flag! The wonder is that after Mexicans have committed every possible atrocity upon Americans, have killed them right and left, have exhausted their devilish ingenuity in devising means for offering greater insults to Americans, our country and our flag, have outraged our women and stopped only because satiated, Washington should have become aroused because a few hun-

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dred more Americans, women and children included, should have been killed by a German submarine."

And what wonder that the Americans forsaken in Mexico should have quoted bitterly:

THE TWO FOOLS

Two fools there were and they laid their plan—
(Even as you and I)
And cast their lot in a foreign land—
And thought they were safe in their Country's hand,
Knowing their Country would understand—
(Even as you and I).

O, our years of waste and our years of haste
And the work of our head and hand,
That should have brought us comfort when old
(But now we feel we're badly sold)
And our country can't understand.

Two fools there were, and their son they taught—
(Even as you and I)
That for their honor their Country fought
(But it wasn't the least what their Country thought),
So the fools, in trouble, their Consul sought
(Even as you and I).

O, the toil we've lost and the spoil we've lost
And the excellent things we've planned
With eyes ever turned to our Country fair
(And now we feel that she never did care
And will not understand!).

The father is dead and the son is dead
(May their souls be happy on high)
And the wife shall lie in a rebel's bed
(For the tale doesn't tell that *she* is dead)
And we feel that her shame's on her Country's head—
(O, the tales to be told, by and by!).

And many shall come and many shall go
And each of them all shall say—
This was not so in years gone by,
Why is it so to-day?
And those who came and needs must stay
Shame-facedly turn away.

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But it's not the thought of what time has brought
That stings like a white-hot brand—
It's coming to know our Country won't care
(And what have *we* done that she should not care?)
And will not understand.

Whether or not it be a fact that the Kaiser's indifference to American rights, as asserted by the London *Daily News*, is directly attributable to our course in Mexico, it is no less than the bitter truth that our Administration has come to be regarded as anæmic rather than as American; that not only Mexicans, but peoples the world over, are now under the misapprehension that we are, indeed, too "proud" or too pusillanimous to enforce our just demands; and that Americans themselves have lost faith in the full protection from their own Government, which never before has been withheld since John Marshall laid down the law. How long it will take to remove this false belief and how costly the ultimate demonstration will be, God alone knows.

V. THE CAUSE AND THE REMEDY

While it is impossible to withhold from the present Administration primary responsibility for the deplorable and far-reaching consequences of fatuous and futile vacillation, the genesis of the fault must, in all fairness, be accorded due consideration. Nobody has ventured, and none now would venture, to question the excellence of President Wilson's intentions. Throughout all of his backing and filling, his repeated intervening without making his interference effectual, his alternating laying and lifting of embargoes, his vague threatenings promptly rendered abortive by assurances that he would not employ force, his subsequent using of the army and navy upon an absurd pretext, only to withdraw them at the moment when a restraining influence was most needed, his petulant defying of public journals which were only performing their duty, his prospective chuckling as the one who laughs last, his cynical abandoning of both Mexicans and Americans to their fate because, forsooth, Europeans also were spilling blood, his strident pledging to leave the tortured country alone and to compel all others to do likewise, only to resume meddling as soon as a disfavored faction seemed likely to gain ascendancy—through-

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out all of these turnings, twistings and incredibly inconsistent doings there has never arisen a doubt of the sincerity of his purpose to " serve Mexico " and to " serve mankind."

The crux of the President's blundering is to be found in his misconception of his own functions. Impressed by his unprecedentedly quick elevation from a college professorship to the most exalted political position on earth, convinced of the popularity of the hazy theories whose fascinating articulation had charmed the people, flushed by his success in subordinating a co-ordinate branch of the Government to his will, isolated and feared, he unconsciously but inevitably assumed the attitude of one divinely appointed to conserve humanity in new and striking ways—and forgot for the moment that he was a quite fallible and far from omnipotent being, who in reality had only been elected President of the United States, charged with the performance of certain official tasks specifically defined by fundamental law.

It was but natural, therefore, that when the time came he should attack the Mexican situation as a regenerator of the morals and ideals of a people, instead of as an executive whose obligation was limited to the safeguarding of the lives and properties of those whose Chief Magistrate he had become. To pronounce such an aspiration blameworthy would be most unjust; it was only mistaken. For the methods employed, moreover, there seemed to be ample warrant. If a Congress of the United States could be brought under subjection by merely pointing to the rod, surely no insecure Government of a comparatively insignificant country could withstand the process. Hence the President's confidence in the efficacy of an indeterminate policy which never did, and does not now, take under contemplation the second step. But humans are humans, Mexicans are Mexicans, and—

> What is the use of the lore of years—
> What of the written Word,
> Against the stubborn, uncultured Fact
> That actually occurred?

It would avail nothing now to recall our repeated adjurations to the President to heed the admonition of Plutarch, " 'Tis a wise saying, Drive on your own track "; or to repeat the questions propounded in this Review nearly two years ago, " What legal or moral right has a President of

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the United States to say who shall or shall not be President of Mexico? " and " Did not President Wilson imbed himself in a practically inextricable position when he demanded the retirement of Huerta? " The former was answered by the President himself, with notable emphasis, at Indianapolis, and the latter finds its response in the existing condition. Nor would we cause irritation by noting the fulfillment of our anticipatory warning, sixteen months ago, of the danger that " persistence in a course which, in common with everybody else, you must know to be wrong, will be attributed to no kind of reasoning whatsoever, but to your own stubborn pride." It is no longer a question of what might have been, but of what is, from the standpoint of the continuing Republic, not of Presidents who come and go and whose policies are not infrequently reversed by their successors.

We are now entering upon the fourth stage of striving which, thus far, has proved futile and fateful, of hoping against hope. We have called to our assistance and to share our responsibility six sister Republics, whose representatives have demonstrated their superiority at the outset by indulging in no vague threats, and yet requesting definite responses before a specified day. Unfortunately, with the precision which has characterized the faulty conduct of our own Administration from the beginning, the time chosen for action is most inopportune. Just as when Huerta held virtually complete control, so now, when Carranza seems likely to succeed, we inject ourselves into the situation in the interest of the lesser bandits who are approaching the end of their resources. And the reasons, alas, are identical. Reporting the Cabinet meeting of March 9th, the inspired *World* said in its Washington dispatch:

> The Mexican situation held the attention of the Cabinet this morning, and the *World* is able to state that the following programme is to be followed:
>
> The policy of " watchful waiting," which resulted in the overthrow of General Huerta, will be applied to General Carranza, until he is eliminated. The Administration is satisfied that he can never re-establish law and order.
>
> The United States will not intervene in Mexico, but will assemble at Vera Cruz a naval force sufficiently strong to awe Carranza and to take charge of the situation if the plight of the foreign residents becomes desperate.

Recent events indicate the correctness of this report and

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the accuracy of the forecast. If so—i. e., if Carranza must now, in turn, pay the penalty of *his* disobedience to the President—the outlook for a solution is more than dubious.

If our Government would now turn over the whole business of settlement to the more competent, more sympathetic, racially related and fully trusted envoys from South America, with assurance of our unqualified support of any plan which we must not of necessity disapprove, there is a fair probability that peace could be restored to our bleeding and starving neighbors whom we, however unwittingly, have so grievously wronged.

But if stubborn pride shall prevent the adoption of this simple, manly, generous and wholly practicable proposal, we can but look forward with dole and shame to continuance of the miseries already inflicted upon a people whom we would "serve as friends" by a President and Cabinet who—

> Promise, pause, prepare, postpone,
> And end by leaving things alone.

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IF AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR

BY LORD NORTHCLIFFE

WRITING at this date—in the month of July—it is quite impossible for a European to discern future American action in regard to the war. We know very little of the feelings of the whole of the United States toward this gigantic world upheaval. Our American friends who write to us are cordial and enthusiastic supporters of the Allies. Most of the newspapers on the Atlantic seaboard are obviously pro-Ally. But some of us who have more than a passing acquaintance with the great Republic understand that when an Englishman goes to the United States he naturally mingles with Americans of British descent, and it is these who have sent so many thousands of messages to us. Any one who has traveled through most of the United States, as I have, must realize the vast difficulty of arriving at anything approximate to a consensus of American opinion on the war, or any other topic. I assume, however, that seven American men and women out of ten are in sympathy with little Belgium. The superb generosity of the American people, who are preventing the Germans from starving the Belgians to death, is abundant proof of the sympathy of the majority of the people of the United States with the Belgian section of the Allies. It is possible that a great many are not in sympathy with England, or with Russia, or with France, or with Italy.

It always seems to me, therefore, that if the United States enters the war she will naturally devote her attention to the liberation of Belgium. It appears to me, too, that such a plan would have the additional merit of enthusiastically arousing the whole of the American people to their task. It would also give the American army, assuming such was raised, a definite work of its own, untrammelled by precedent

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and free from the friction that would arise through its co-operation with armies speaking a different language or having entirely different traditions. It is certain that the American character and the American genius for invention would bring to bear on this war new ideas which the Americans would prefer to carry out in their own way. An American army would start with an enormous advantage over existing armies. It would have knowledge of the experiences and mistakes of the last year, and it would bring that invaluable essential, a new and clear eye, to bear on problems which have befogged those who have been over-concentrating for so long.

It is suggested in some American publications that the Allies, and particularly Great Britain, are anxious for American co-operation. I see cartoons in American newspapers suggesting that John Bull is holding out his hand appealingly to Uncle Sam in this conflict. If there be many people in England with that view I have not met them. We know that you are even less prepared than we were twelve months ago, and that in any case participation would not be possible for a long time ahead. We feel that the war is a European matter, and that the Canadians and Australians are involved only because the heart of their Empire has been struck at. Others of us think that if the United States entered the arena she would be so busy manufacturing munitions of war for herself that we should lose the valuable support she has been giving us in that direction. Again, there are others—I am quite frank, and the point of view has been urged upon me by prominent Frenchmen—who believe that German influence in the United States is so strong that when the settlement of the war comes to be made, American intervention, if it had taken place, might tend to the strengthening of Germany's hands at the peace conference.

But while I know of no active movement among the Allies to involve the United States in this world catastrophe, it is obvious that just as Germany blundered into a war with Great Britain, so it looks as if she were forcing the United States into the war. Americans who are now traveling in Germany are only too well aware of the hostility towards them that has been directly engendered by the Government. A careful perusal of the thousands of small German newspapers which answer to your " boiler-plate " country journals shows that the German Press Bureau has promoted a virulent anti-American propaganda. The leading newspa-

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pers of the German Empire are sufficiently hostile to the United States, but I would draw American attention to the virulence of the Government-controlled minor organs, which are attacking the United States in exactly the same terms as those in which they attacked England, and in almost the same language as they used against Italy while she was deciding to take her part in the war.

The whole scheme is illustrative of the German miscalculation of the psychology of other nations. It is part and parcel of the modern German theory that people can be frightened into such attitude of mind as Germany may desire. These careful and laboriously engineered sneers at and attacks on the United States come from a people who believe that the Americans will not go to war, because to do so would injure American *business*. In this spirit, thousands of articles and pictures relating to "Herr Dollarman" are being circulated in Germany and Austria. I do not know who advises the German Government upon the American national character; but he bears a very heavy responsibility if he suggests that the United States will indefinitely submit to insult and humiliation. I have already expressed the opinion in American newspapers that Washington has displayed great dignity in the handling of its relations with the Germans. A lesser nation might have hurried into quick reprisal, but the Republic has always shown the leisured dignity and calm nerves which one expects from a hundred millions of people composed in the main of the best races in the world.

As to the maritime aspect of possible American intervention: I presume that the United States would immediately seize such German ships as are imprisoned in her harbors and use them as transports. For the rest, it is difficult to see in what way the United States with its present navy could very greatly help the Allies. The American submarine service would be able to demonstrate its efficiency only if the German warships came from their hiding, and at present there seems to be no indication of a willingness to emerge. The Germans would, I have no doubt, construct submarines capable of crossing the Atlantic, but they would probably be speedily dealt with by Americans through some of the means that we have already discovered for meeting the menace of the submarines. The American Fleet might co-operate with our Fleet in the

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Mediterranean or join our Grand Fleet in the North Sea; but, as a matter of fact, we have absolute confidence in our navy, and feel that we shall be able to deal with the Germans at sea.

Of one thing I have very little doubt, and that is that if the United States should be goaded into this struggle she will see it through in the same way as on previous occasions. She will spare neither men nor money in that part of the struggle which she undertakes. She will show to the Germans that behind the fine American business brain is a soul that, as in the past, does not hesitate at the sacrifice of blood for the preservation of great ideals. If the Americans enter the war it will be with no sordid motive, with no idea of the acquisition of territory, but for the noble purpose of gaining freedom for those who are downtrodden and of showing to the world that citizenship of the United States is as inviolable as was that of Rome.

NORTHCLIFFE.

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HOW SHOULD WE PREPARE?

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT

THE limits of preparedness, however broad or narrow, ought to be determined by both of two different needs: first, the need for a limited aggressive strength, and, secondly, the need for a defensive strength, limited, but capable of sudden effective expansion.

Just how much aggressive strength the United States will hereafter need depends on the issue of the present European struggle. If Germany comes out of the war holding Belgium, maintaining her complete military organization, and both free and able to enlarge her navy, the United States, in defense of her own rights and of the rights of all the free nations of the world, will need to join the Alliance which has been holding Germany in check, though thus far unable to defeat her. In joining that Alliance, the United States will wish to furnish such a quota of vessels, men, and munitions as will be suitable for a rich nation 100,000,000 strong, and united in adherence to fixed standards of public and private liberty, truthfulness, and justice. If, on the other hand, the Entente nations succeed in defeating the German undertakings in the present war, or in bringing the contest to a stalemate, there will probably result an international league for the prevention of war, in which the United States will wish to take part, if requested by the Entente belligerents to do so. In that case this country must be prepared to furnish whatever quota the International Council or Commission, created by treaty for the prevention of war, asks of us. The quota of the United States in the second case would, of course, be smaller than in the first, and might be chiefly naval; but, in either case, the quota should be of the best possible quality in all respects—vessels, artillery, munitions, submarines, aeroplanes, automobiles, hospital equipment, and all kinds of military and naval supplies.

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Therefore, the United States should now put itself in condition to produce rapidly all these implements of war, should acquire a considerable stock of them all, and should train some moderate number of men—like 50,000 in the navy and 100,000 in the army—to use them with skill and thorough efficiency. The existing army and navy of the United States should be at once utilized to the full as schools for the training of soldiers and sailors; and careful records should be kept of the future careers of the men who have passed with credit through either service. They should be registered as reserves, and be kept account of by Reserve Bureaus of the army and navy. For giving this training to large numbers of men, the term of enlistment in the army and navy would better be short—probably not over two years, perhaps not over one year; so that each year many thousands of men should return to civil life, after receiving a thorough training in the work of a soldier or of a naval mechanic or sailor. These men would remain available during ten or fifteen years for immediate service in the army and navy, and they would be available for a much longer time to teach and train a quickly summoned army. The Academies at West Point and Annapolis should be enlarged, surplus graduates to be perhaps furloughed for appropriate civil employment without losing their army or navy status.

The international police, created to enforce the orders of the International Council or Commission which should result from even the partial success of the Entente Powers in the present war, would have two functions: The primary and supreme function would be the forcible prevention of international war; the secondary function would be the restoring of order in nations or communities—whether civilized or barbarous—which had fallen into anarchic conditions. The second of these functions might prove to be almost as important as the first; because, if well fulfilled, it would promote the effective use of capital in all parts of the earth, the spread of the mining and manufacturing industries through regions where they are now unknown, and the greater productiveness of agriculture. It might also be more frequently in exercise than the first. There would result, so far as differences of climate and of racial characteristics would permit, a gradual equalizing, as regards human comfort and productiveness, of the conditions of life and work in the different parts of the earth, and a more thorough development and

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utilization of the natural resources of each and every country. Such policing would be for the common interest of all the nations; and the nation or community which had fallen into disorder and misery might accept such international intervention—on a large scale or a small—without objection; because it need not fear the loss of territory, or of any desirable independence. There is no loss of self-respect for an individual or a nation in yielding to an obviously overwhelming force, used not to crush, but to restore. Now and then, a Government which had failed to do its duty towards the people it governed, but still possessed some vitality, might be stimulated and really strengthened by an international pressure which would accomplish its object without reaching the stage of actual intervention.

However this war shall end, therefore, the United States will need in the future a military force somewhat larger than it now possesses, and available promptly for aggressive purposes, and also some additions to its naval equipment. If the war should now end suddenly on wrong terms—as is not at all likely—the United States will need a larger aggressive force than if the war should end after one or two years more, through the exhaustion of one side or the other; for, if the present drain on the capital of Europe goes on for one or two years more, it is impossible to imagine that any nation among the present combatants should desire to attack the United States, or indeed be able to do so without a long period for recuperation; and there is no other Power in the world that could have any possible interest in attacking this country.

In increasing the defensive strength of the United States, the necessary expenditure would be made as a species of insurance against a small chance of horrible calamity. The chance that any formidable attack would, or could, be made on either coast of the United States is very small. Indeed, it might properly be called infinitesimal; but, now that Germany has shown the world how terrible and crushing the results of conquest can be, the people of the United States feel like insuring themselves against any such disaster as has befallen Belgium and Northern France. What is the nature and extent of such an insurance? We should wish to defend against the most skilful possible attack the coast cities which contain not only innumerable valuable structures and precious contents of buildings in great variety, but also considerable docking facilities and railroad terminals. We

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should be prepared to defend effectively every place which could afford an enemy a base of invasion, and opportunities for exacting heavy ransoms. The number of such places, however, on both coasts of the United States is not considerable, even if naval stations be included.[1]

What is the nature of the equipment to be provided, in order to secure these various cities and bays against an immense fleet of hostile warships and transports? In addition to the effective navy which the United States now possesses, the equipment should consist of shore batteries of the most powerful and longest range guns, monitors and submarines, torpedoes, mines, and aeroplanes all of the best possible construction and in ample quantity. This provision should be made without unnecessary delay, but not until the experience to date of the present war on sea and land has been thoroughly utilized by American designers and manufacturers. The need of the country for insurance against the horrors of invasion is not so urgent that we should hasten to accumulate a great stock of military and naval material which would probably prove to be somewhat antiquated, if we should be attacked by an experienced invader whose equipment was thoroughly up to date.

Another expedient preparation for defensive warfare is the strengthening of the state militia or national guard. This public force is of unequal merit in the different states of the Union, and needs to be brought up to a common standard, and to be strengthened in number and in discipline. It needs to have more money spent on it; so that the training provided should embrace instruction in the use of rifles, grenades, machine-guns, and light and heavy artillery; in the use of the bayonet; in marching, camping, and entrenching; and in military hygiene as regards cleanliness, food, water supplies, and the care of the sick and wounded. Evening schools in military subjects should be maintained for militia officers. Officers and men should be kept in athletic

[1] A reasonable list would include Portland, Maine; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Boston and Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts; Newport, Rhode Island; New York, Delaware Bay, Chesapeake Bay, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile Bay, New Orleans and Galveston on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico; Puget Sound, Columbia River, San Francisco and San Diego on the Pacific Coast. There are, of course, other places on the coasts where an enemy might land and find some railroad connections; but he would find elsewhere no opportunities for exacting heavy ransoms; and he would not be able to inflict serious losses on the country as a whole, or interfere with the prompt assembling of military forces to repel the invader.

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condition all the year by drills and interesting competitions; and employers of young men should continue wages during absence on militia duty. Every state should make adequate provision of uniforms, equipment, rifle-ranges, transportation, camping areas, and munitions, and encourage proper periods of field practice at the seasons which would interfere least with the prevailing industries.

A moderate amount of new legislation on the part of Congress is also desirable, to authorize the Government, in case of war, to take over vehicles, animals, transportation lines on land and sea, telegraph and telephone lines, foods, manufacturing plants, coal, gasoline, and the materials of munitions. These powers are necessary for the mobilization and maintenance of the national forces in time of war.

The preparation made for defensive purposes would, for the most part, be available for aggressive purposes as well, in case the European war should suddenly come to an end on conditions of peace which threatened gravely the public liberties of the civilized world. It is not inconceivable that the present conflict should come to such an end; but it seems in the highest degree improbable, when one recalls the fundamental interests for which Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy are contending, the resolute purpose of all four peoples, and the fact that their combined resources in men and money greatly exceed the resources of the central monarchies and Turkey.

In the meantime, the United States is making the best possible preparation for military and naval defense and offense on its own part, by maintaining the rights of neutrals to manufacture and sell all sorts of military and naval material, making sure that its food supply is increased, cutting off superfluities in expenditure, increasing moderately its appropriations for the army and navy, and devising the laws needed to authorize the Government to mobilize promptly all the national forces, in case war becomes necessary for the safety of the country, or for an effective support of other Governments which stand for public liberty and public justice, and are in danger of succumbing temporarily to Governments that do not.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

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IF I WERE CAESAR

BY A. P. GARDNER

UNTIL now, I have never been forced to explain what I should do about the national defense if I had the entire say. Of course, I should prefer to appropriate a big sum of money and let the experts decide how to spend it. Incontestably, that would be the wise course for Congress to take, but we may be fairly sure that Congress will take no such course. Congress has no intention of sharing its power with the experts, and will undoubtedly legislate down to the minutest detail, instead of letting military men decide military questions.

There is some excuse for us, however. Bureau chiefs of the army and navy have a tendency to a sort of intellectual hardening of the arteries whenever any novelty is proposed, and yet these are the days of triumphant innovations. The older members of Congress have not forgotten how officialdom greeted the arrival of the submarine. As for the high explosive shell, I doubt whether, even yet, it has shattered all the icicles of conservatism in the ordnance bureaus of the army and the navy.

No one realizes more clearly than I my ignorance of much that I ought to know before I hazard an opinion as to what should be done to build up our defenses. Unfortunately, I find it quite impossible to get at many of the most important military and naval facts. Since the campaign for adequate preparation was inaugurated, a most alarming case of military lockjaw has developed both in the army and in the navy. In the navy, particularly, tetanus is especially severe. Officers have been brought up from their academy days to believe that the Secretary of the Navy is their friend, and that an appropriation committee of Congress is their natural enemy. I am not sure but that, as a

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general rule, this belief is accurate; but just now the effect is unfortunate. For instance, last winter would have been a good time for naval officers to speak out frankly before the Committee on Naval Affairs. Some of them did so; others sterilized their evidence. Still others, who ought to have been called on to tell the facts, never were summoned before the Committee at all. The result is that the volume of hearings on the Naval Bill last winter is more remarkable for its bulk than for the information which it imparts.

One cannot altogether blame an admiral, however, if he dislikes to tell the public or a committee some unpalatable fact. We Americans have been misled by flamboyant magazine articles and Sunday-supplement pictures until we think that we have a thoroughly modern navy, second to Great Britain alone. Of course, we have nothing of the sort. Our navy is an exceedingly bad third to Germany's, and probably, as a matter of fact, would now be found inferior to that of France.

But in order that you may appreciate an admiral's point of view, let us suppose that you were an admiral and were present and heard the Secretary of the Navy testify before a committee of Congress that, "ship for ship and man for man," our navy is the equal of any upon earth. How would you like it if you found it to be your duty forthwith to step forward and explain that half the submarines on the Atlantic Coast are junk? I have in mind an analysis of the navy's gunnery which appeared in a certain magazine in August, 1914. Among other things, the analysis said: "During the last 'battle practise' the fleet scored about 95 per cent of hits." No word of denial was published by the Navy Department. If you were an admiral, how would you like to face a public stuffed with that sort of pabulum and be obliged to tell the blunt, sober truth, that in the individual target practise of our battleships last Spring our giant guns, according to the report of the chief umpire who witnessed the firing, actually did not hit the target oftener than about once out of every eight shots? Yes, there is some excuse for sterilized evidence.

Assuming, however, that the country is waking up, and is getting ready to fit itself to take its proper station among the nations, the problem comes back to the question of just exactly what I think we ought to do in the circumstances.

The question branches in two directions:—

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1. What immediate steps for national defense ought we to take in view of the possibility that we may be involved in the present European war?

2. What permanent plan for national defense ought we to inaugurate with a view to having its execution well under way when the European war comes to an end?

In other words, what is the most effective makeshift which at this late date we can improvise for our temporary protection, and what permanent structure ought we to erect behind our improvised makeshift?

Before I try to solve these conundrums, I here and now reserve the right to change my opinion in any or all respects with or without notice. Moreover, I decline to be embarrassed if any views I now express are at complete variance with others which I may have heretofore enunciated.

The limits of this article will not permit me to discuss the coast defenses or the army; but, after all, the navy problem is so much more immediate and so much more important that I shall confine myself to prescribing for the navy.

To answer the foregoing questions, it is essential that the basis on which I am proceeding must first be made perfectly clear. I shall assume, then, that Mr. Daniels is to remain in control of his department,—at all events, for a year and a half to come. This opinion I have formed from reading President Wilson's endorsement of his Secretary of the Navy at the time of the naval review in New York last May. If I am correct in my conclusion, it is hopeless at present to expect to secure legislation which will provide a proper reorganization of our antediluvian methods of administering a navy. European navies have been forced to discard the old system under which an untrained civilian is clothed with unlimited power to interfere in purely military questions; but we still stick to our time-honored fallacies. Mr. Daniels has consistently fought and will continue to fight every effort to curb the powers of his position, and I shall do him the justice to say that I think he would fight equally hard if he himself were going out of office to-morrow. On the whole, I seriously doubt the wisdom of attempting legislation to reform the administrative absurdities of the Navy Department so long as Secretary Daniels is at its head. Granting that we could perhaps put through some sort of law, how much good would it do us if Secretary Daniels did not like it? I know well enough that if I were Secretary of

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the Navy I should be sorry for the lot of the unfortunate gentleman whose duty it might be to make effective the provisions of a statute of which I did not approve.

So, with very real reluctance, I feel that we must abandon any serious attempt to reform the paleolithic laws by which the navy is governed. Yet many an officer and enlisted man believes that it is almost impossible to get first-class results out of our present fleet (to say nothing of increasing it), unless we first install a system which will work uniformly and thoroughly, no matter how many monkey wrenches some unseasoned political handicraftsman may clumsily drop into the machinery.

Now I am by no means one of those who think that Secretary Daniels does nothing except drop monkey wrenches. On the contrary, I think he has a very pretty instinct for conceptions which will tickle the public fancy. There can be no doubt whatever that he scored a bull's-eye when he pictured the navy as a great national floating university for the gallant youth of the nation. To be sure, a minority of us secretly felt that, for a naval man, gun-pointing was an even more important study than compound interest, but we were regarded as fretful croakers. As to the new Inventions Board, the idea has undoubtedly taken hold. I shall be disposed to vote it about all the money it can use, as I believe that it is well worth trying—assuming, of course, that the members of the Board will organize to pass on other inventions besides their own.

To return to my main thesis, what immediate emergency steps ought we to take from which we may reasonably expect results within two years? First of all, we ought to build submarines, principally sea-going submarines, as many as we can and as quickly as we can; and we ought at once to start training officers and crews to man those submarines when they are ready. Where the officers and crews are to come from I have no idea, for we are over 18,000 men and over 900 officers short of the full complement for our present fleet. However, the thing has got to be done, even if we must temporarily relegate some more second-line battleships to cold storage, or "reserve," as it is euphemistically called.

According to the Navy and Marine Corps List and Directory, published by the Navy Department July 1, 1915, we have thirty-eight submarines actually completed. This

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number includes the submarine F-4, which the Navy Department somewhat grimly continues to reckon as "in full commission," although it is still at the bottom of the sea at Honolulu. The nine oldest submarines are in the Philippines or other Asiatic waters. Eleven submarines are in the Pacific, either on our Western Coast or in Hawaiian waters. Five are at the Panama Canal, and the remaining thirteen are on the Atlantic Coast. After months of effort, twelve of these thirteen submarines were got ready for the naval review in New York last May. Six of the twelve broke down in the manœuvres which followed the review. There you have our exact status at the present time. On the Atlantic and Gulf Coast we have thirteen submarines, half of them decrepit, to guard over 3,000 miles of seashore. One submarine for each 130 miles seems a meager allowance.

In the last four years Congress has appropriated money to build thirty-eight more submarines. About half of them are now under way, and four of them (authorized in August, 1912) are nearly completed. Only three of the entire thirty-eight are to be of the fast sea-going type.

The upshot of it all appears to be that, up to the present time, it has taken three years, and often longer, to complete a submarine after Congress has voted to build it. If we want vessels in a hurry, we have probably got to pay big premiums for speedy construction. Every one knows that small submarines have been completely built for the British Government since the European war broke out. No doubt we, too, could do as much.

It passes my comprehension why we should deliberately cripple the navy by lack of men. We ought to provide full crews for all our ships now in commission or building, and, in addition, full crews for such of our ships in "reserve" as ought to be put in full commission. There is not much sense in building ships and then putting them in "cold storage" for lack of crews to man them. Eighteen thousand men is our present shortage, according to Admiral Badger and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt. In my judgment, that number added to the navy at the present time would be worth more than 100,000 men added to the army. But how are we to get the extra men for the navy? I am sure I do not know. Pay them more, perhaps, or give them a wider opportunity for promotion, which would probably suit a lot of them better.

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Before passing on I shall interject a word of comment on this " cold storage " habit of the navy. On October 21, 1914, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, gave a statement to the press in which he calmly announced that we had 12 battleships, 15 cruisers, 22 destroyers, 18 torpedo boats, 12 submarines, and perhaps a dozen miscellaneous fighting ships, either in " reserve " or in " ordinary " or " out of commission." In other words, we had about ninety fighting ships, more or less, relegated to the side lines as " watchful waiters." Incidentally, I ought to explain that a ship in " reserve " has perhaps half a crew, a ship in " ordinary " has enough men aboard to scare off the rats, and a ship entirely " out of commission " is manned by a caretaker. When a vessel has been a long time out of full commission the difference between " reserve " and " ordinary " is the difference between " scrap heap, preferred," and " scrap heap, common."

So my first emergency naval legislation would provide for men and submarines, and plenty of auxiliary vessels and air craft and mines and torpedoes and ammunition. If there were any possible way of building battle cruisers and scouts rapidly, I should include them as being of the very highest importance in my emergency programme.

I shall now proceed to usurp a part of the functions of a Council for National Defense and tell my readers what I think this country ought to lay out as a permanent naval programme for the future. Here again we must first make up our minds as to the basis on which we are to proceed. The General Board of the Navy in 1903 prepared a building programme which, if followed out, would in the Board's opinion make us safe against any nation on earth excepting Great Britain. In his last recommendation to Congress the Secretary of the Navy removed just one-half of the General Board's building recommendations.

Be that as it may, I take issue with the Board. I believe that we ought to be absolutely safe against any nation on earth—not *excepting* Great Britain, but *including* Great Britain. In the European war my sympathies are entirely with the Allies; nevertheless, I do not propose, if I can help it, that the United States shall be at the mercy of any nation on earth, and I shall never subscribe to the doctrine that it is unnecessary for us to take Great Britain into account in our navy estimates. On the other hand, no sensible man

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would go so far as to advocate a defense strong enough to master a combination of hostile nations. As former Secretary Bonaparte says, "We must legislate to meet probabilities and possibilities, not conceivabilities."

The last available figures showing the warship tonnage of the world, both vessels built and vessels building, was published by our Navy Department on July 1, 1914. Here it is:

WARSHIP TONNAGE, BUILT AND BUILDING

	Tons
Great Britain	2,714,106
Germany	1,306,577
France	899,915
United States	894,889

So we have a considerable distance to go yet before we are safe. I believe that battle-cruisers equipped with adequate crews are of the utmost importance for us to have and that they should be provided at the earliest possible date. Of course, we must have the heavily armored superdreadnoughts as well; but remember that we have not at the present time a single battle-cruiser, built, building, or authorized, while Great Britain, Germany, Russia and Japan have many battle-cruisers, both built and building. Inasmuch as, under ordinary circumstances, it would take four years after authorization to build a battle-cruiser, we must lose no time in getting to work. By the way, a battle-cruiser such as we need will cost about $7,000,000 more than our greatest superdreadnoughts. The cost may reach $22,000,000 apiece. It is easy to see that we have a pretty bill to face.

The battle-cruiser is a "capital" ship, as the heavy fighting vessels are called. Many amateur strategists think that the days of the great "capital" ships, the dreadnoughts and the battle-cruisers, are numbered, and that the submarine is autocrat. Admitting, as I do, that the submarine is in its infancy, and fully realizing that it is already an admirable defensive weapon, I cannot concede that it has demonstrated its ability to command the seas.

When British ships instead of German are refugees in New York harbor, then I shall know that the British battle-cruiser and the British dreadnought have given way to the German submarine as mistress of the wave. When Sir Cecil Spring-Rice protests against the export of war supplies

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while Count von Bernstorff stoutly maintains that strict neutrality requires us to let the trade go on, then I shall vote to send dreadnoughts to the junk heap. But as long as British commerce on the high seas is practically undiminished, so long as the letter which I mail in Boston is regularly delivered in London, so long as British transports continue to pour their hundreds of thousands of British troops into France, so long as the world admits that a German invasion of England is an iridescent dream, just so long I shall continue to believe in the battle-cruiser and the dreadnought. And so I say, "Build battle-cruisers, and lots of them."

In addition to the merchant crews of the auxiliary vessels gathered into the United States service in case of war, the General Board of the navy has reckoned that we shall need from 30,000 to 50,000 additional bluejackets. The larger the proportion of these men who are actually enlisted in the navy when war breaks out, and the smaller the proportion of those who are in reserve, the better off we shall be.

Right here it should be explained that it is proposed to bring former enlisted men of the navy into an organization entitled a "Reserve." But reservists quickly get behind the times. Last year's all-star college football eleven cannot touch this year's high school team, and every one who really knows what team play means understands why that is so.

Furthermore, it is well to remember that apparently there is nothing which goes out of date much quicker than fighting machinery. I should be willing to predict that an admiral would give the same answer as I should to the following conundrum: In case of the outbreak of war, which would you rather have, one bluejacket who used to be a chauffeur or two chauffeurs who used to be bluejackets? In spite of the fact that chauffeurs deal with machinery, I venture to guess that the admiral would pronounce in favor of the regular who was still slim-waisted and likewise familiar with the operation of the latest thing in man-killing apparatus.

Anyway, it does not look as if we were likely to be overburdened with naval reservists. On March 3d last we passed a law creating a Reserve of former bluejackets. In spite of the exceptionally liberal provisions of that law, up to the

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middle of June (the last time that I was able to get any figures) only sixty-nine bluejackets had availed themselves of their opportunity. Although it is several years since the Army Reserve law was enacted, at the present time only sixteen men are enrolled. All of which goes to show that young Americans do not like to mortgage their future.

The crux of the question appears to be this: if you make service in the Reserve voluntary, young men will not serve when their enlistments in the regular organizations expire. On the other hand, if you make service in the Reserve compulsory, you are likely to have trouble in getting your original enlistments.

Very pressing indeed is the need of more officers. An admirable bluejacket can be made in two years out of the splendid material which we get nowadays, but it takes the better part of a decade to make a seasoned officer out of the raw young novice who enters the Academy at Annapolis. So I say, increase the size of the Academy, and do not be frightened into believing that it has gone to the dogs because recently a lot of youngsters have shown themselves unworthy of the traditions of the place.

Mr. Daniels tells us that future wars will be fought with electricity, chemistry and machinery. What the Secretary says is quite true, but it is not quite new. Past wars have also been fought with electricity, chemistry and machinery. There is one thing of which we can be equally sure: future wars will be fought, as heretofore, with men and ships and brains as well as with electricity, chemistry and machinery.

If there is one thing more than another which the present European war has demonstrated, it is that long lines of infantry in holes in the ground are stronger than any fortifications which man has ever built. It is easy to read the press headlines and draw wrong conclusions. Novelties appeal to the imagination. We are tempted to jump to the conclusion that numbers and force can be overbalanced by ingenuity. If any one is too much impressed by the best advertised novelties, let him ask himself how much territory Germany has actually gained by her use of poisonous gases.

After all, up to the present time what are the real controlling factors by land and by sea in the European war? Unquestionably the controlling factors are vast numbers of men, quantities of ammunition, heavy guns and big ships.

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In other words, numbers and power, but not dexterity, not finesse, not ingenuity. Germany had her vast numbers and her measureless ammunition and her heavy guns ready. Great Britain had her big ships ready. That is the reason why, up to the present time, Germany is ahead on land and Great Britain is ahead at sea.

Here is the moral of it all: Put not your trust in ingenuities and clever contrivances; but put your trust by sea and by land in substantial equipment and solid numbers and mighty power, and good stout hearts to weld them all together.

A. P. Gardner.

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THE RÔLE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

BY MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN F. O'RYAN, N. G., N. Y.

WHAT part will the National Guard of the country play in any new policy of national defense which may be adopted by Congress? The question is a matter of concern not only to the one hundred and twenty-odd thousand officers and men composing the National Guard of the several states, but it is also of interest to the communities in which the companies, battalions, and regiments composing this force are stationed.

In the first place, of all the great Powers of the world there are but two that rely for the conduct of war upon mercenary armies supplemented by volunteer forces. These are Great Britain and the United States. The other great Powers conduct war through the agency of the nation in arms. In view of the vast difference between the degrees of readiness and efficiency offered by the two systems, the question immediately presents itself whether our Government should not commit itself without delay to the European system of universal military service in time of peace.

There are doubtless in this country some who are prepared to urge the adoption of this system at the present time. They would point out the many economic advantages flowing from universal military service—the improved physique, the greater respect for law and order, the higher degree of self-control, and the increase of disciplined industry among a people who are subject to such service. It is fortunately true that universal military service does offer some extenuating advantages which mitigate its evils, but in the last analysis such a system can only be justified on the ground of necessity, and such necessity does not exist in the case of the United States. The ideal Government is that which interferes least with the liberties and happiness

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of its good citizens, and a military system which in time of peace abducts young men from their families and forces them into the army upon attaining a prescribed age constitutes a serious interference with the individual and the family order of things. In Europe, where the boundaries separating states are largely artificial, and where racial antipathies and commercial rivalries are a constant source of international differences, the contest for preparedness has forced the adoption of universal service. It does not, however, follow that a system best adapted to meet the conditions of Continental Europe is the best system for the United States. This may readily be illustrated by considering the populations of the several great Powers which enforce universal service, with that of the United States. Germany, with a population of 65,000,000, maintained at the outbreak of the present war a standing army of 900,000 men; France, with a population of 40,000,000, a standing army of 800,000 men; the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with a population of 50,000,000, a standing army of 440,000 men; Russia, with a population of 171,000,000, a standing army of 1,500,000 men. On the basis of the German figures, if the United States, with its population of 100,000,000, should adopt universal service, it would maintain a standing army of 1,538,000 men. It is obvious, therefore—unless our Government is to prepare for a war of conquest—that no need exists for the maintenance of such vast armed forces. They would be unnecessary for purely defensive purposes, because all the authorities are agreed that with a trained force of 500,000 men this country can successfully resist invasion by defeating in detail the greatest forces that can be transported to our shores in single expeditions. Universal service would therefore result in the creation of a force greatly in excess of possible needs.

If we should so regulate the system of conscription as to provide for a standing army of but 500,000 men, or in fact any number less than the maximum attainable by conscription, then we would cease to have *universal* service and the system would fall down. It would fall down because it would cease to be universal. It is to be remembered that in a system of universal military service the soldiers are not paid. The few cents a day allowed them constitutes a commutation of tobacco and other non-necessities. All the male population serve; so that in the end all strive in civil life under

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the same handicap of required military service. If we were to adopt what some are pleased to call a modified form of universal military service, it would be in effect a *limited universal* service,—which, as the term indicates, would be anomalous. When enforced military service ceases to be universal in its application, favoritism results. Those relieved from service will have advantages in the start of the industrial struggle for existence, or, if they do not, those who serve will believe it to be so, and discontent will result. Pay would soon be demanded by those who serve, on the plea that those who are relieved should be assessed to compensate those who are rendering the service. The force, if paid, would become a mercenary professional army, and the cost of such an institution would stagger even a Government as rich as ours. Serious discussion of the adoption of universal military service in this country in time of peace is idle, for the reason that the sentiment of the people is so strong against it that the subject would not be considered. The foregoing facts, however, are interesting as supporting the correctness of that sentiment.

This brings us to a consideration of the expansion of our regular army as an agency to meet the demands of war, and this in turn calls for some understanding of what is meant by "the demands of war."

Having in mind the military power of possible enemies, their point of view, our conduct, and what we deem to be our destiny, and considering also the vastness of our continental territory and the extent and dispersion of our foreign possessions, prudence dictates that we should adopt such military measures as will provide 500,000 trained men, organized into divisions and field armies for prompt use in war, and enable the early organization, equipment and training of a second line of at least a million men.

Our present regular army, including the Philippine Scouts, consists of 5,000 commissioned officers and 92,900 enlisted men, a total of 97,900. Under an act of Congress passed in 1912 there were authorized for the Quartermaster Corps 6,000 enlisted men, not to be counted as a part of the strength of the army. In the same way the enlisted men of the Medical Department are not counted against the strength of the army. The authorized strength of these men is 4,400. The Philippine Constabulary is also not included in the above total strength of the regular army. In 1915 Congress

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appropriated for the support of the army $101,000,000. This does not include the appropriation for pensions, which exceeds in amount the appropriation for the army. It is not believed that there are many military authorities in this country who advocate an increase of the regular army to a size sufficient to perform unaided the functions of first-line troops. To expand the regular army from its present strength of approximately 100,000 men to a force approximating 500,000 men would be impracticable: first, because under the voluntary system of enlistments the maximum force which could be obtained would be approximately 150,000 men, as shown by the records of applications for enlistments and rejections; and secondly, because the cost would be out of reason. The best military thought in this country is agreed that our first-line troops should be made up in part of the regular army and in part of some other force, regularly trained and substantially prepared for war. And so, pending legislation to provide in time of peace this force of first-line troops, which will imperatively be needed immediately upon the outbreak of our next war, the War Department has on paper provided for a first line of sixteen divisions, four of which are to be furnished by the regular army, and twelve by the organized militia of the country. As a division aggregates 22,000 men of all arms, these sixteen divisions would furnish a force of 352,000 men, which, with the auxiliary divisions and other auxiliary troops, would total approximately 400,000 men. This force, however, exists largely on paper. The four divisions to be supplied by the army do not exist. But two of the army divisions could be promptly organized. Of the militia divisions, but one exists complete in all its tactical subdivisions; namely, the VI (New York). The VII (Pennsylvania) division is approximately complete, but lacking some field artillery and enginer troops. The remaining divisions each include a group of states, and there is lack of single command, co-ordination and properly balanced composition. Underlying the superficial shortcomings of the militia divisions, there exist organic defects which should be rectified before the forces known as the " Organized Militia " can be reliably depended upon as part of the first line.

The existing strength of the twelve militia divisions aggregates approximately 120,000 officers and men. This force is maintained in part by federal appropriations and in part

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by state appropriations, supplemented in some cases by county and municipal appropriations. Each regular soldier costs the Government about a thousand dollars a year to maintain. The average cost of maintenance of the National Guard soldier or member of the Organized Militia is less than one hundred dollars per year, including cost from all sources. The National Guard soldier has therefore much in his favor on the ground of economy. When it can be said that the maintenance of one regular soldier costs as much as the maintenance of ten National Guard soldiers, either the cost of maintaining the regular is too high or the moneys expended in support of the National Guard soldier are inadequate. The organic defects which handicap the efficiency of the force known as the National Guard are legal defects, and flow from the limitations imposed by the Constitution of the United States upon the use to which the militia may be put. The Constitution limits the use of the militia to repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, and executing the laws.

Right here the reader should have in mind what constitutes the militia of the Constitution. The militia of the Constitution is made up of able-bodied male citizens of the United States between the ages of 18 and 45. For many years the names of such citizens were regularly carried on rolls, and were divided into companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, and divisions, and officers were designated for all of these tactical organizations. The law required that the companies should drill once a year on what was known as Training Day. This force, so organized and trained, was the militia which was laughed off the stage by public opinion and by the appearance and gradual recognition of the independent companies, troops, and batteries which later became known as the National Guard. It is interesting to note that in the public mind the National Guard is believed to be the militia of the country, and color is lent to this view by the designation of "Organized Militia" given to the National Guard by the War Department. The National Guard of the country gradually came to be officially recognized by state, county, and municipal governments because of service rendered from time to time in aid of the civil authorities. The early independent National Guard companies were organized by veteran officers of the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812—experienced soldiers

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who realized the worthlessness of the militia by reason of their lack of training, and who sought to provide a dependable substitute. The National Guard gradually fell heir to appropriations made in support of the militia and the latter force, or rather that portion of it which was organized, gradually ceased to have existence.

The so-called "Organized Militia" of the present day is a vastly different force in its efficiency from the militia of the Constitution, with its single annual training day; for the troops composing the twelve militia divisions are clothed in the same manner as the regulars, armed with the same arms, and provided with the same equipment. They follow the same drill manuals, study the same text-books, and in annual field exercises engage in the same tactical problems to the professional benefit of both.

The ignorance of a large part of the intelligent civilian public concerning military affairs is frequently remarked. It was common during the recent field exercises at Fishkill Plains to hear people comment upon what they termed the wonderful discipline and efficiency obtained by the National Guard organizations "in so short a period." They seemed unaware of the fact that the field training period is but the culmination of a year's arduous work, involving not only weekly drills, with frequent week-end outdoor tactical exercises, but attendance at lectures, quizzes and schools for officers and non-commissioned officers.

What has been accomplished during the past few years in the development of efficiency is but an augury of what will result in the next half dozen years if Congress will provide legislation to cure the organic legal defects which handicap the development of the National Guard.

In considering the character of the forces to constitute, with the regular army, our first-line troops, Congress should recognize the military principle that a force, to be dependable for use in war, should be a federal force in time of peace as well as in time of war, so that there may be a direct supervision and control over preparation by the war-making power, namely the Federal Government. The present force known as the "Organized Militia" is not in time of peace a real federal force, but a force composed of forty-eight little armies each with its own ideals and standards of efficiency and each periodically affected, favorably or adversely, as the case may be, by the appointment and activities

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Adjutant-General. And so grave is this defect believed to be that military authorities are agreed that the growing efficiency of the National Guard should not lead law-making authorities to gloss over the evil by compromise legislation. Indeed, some officers believe that the force to supplement the regular army should be a new force, in addition to the National Guard, territorially distributed irrespective of state lines, and commanded by officers chosen by the President. Some suggest a distribution of the force by Congressional districts.

It is believed that all such plans are fantastic and wholly impracticable, because they disregard the matter of cost. A "Congressional Army," as it has been referred to by some, would lack armories or barracks, rifle ranges and drill grounds. If it were planned to avoid the cost of providing these by limiting the training to an annual period in the field, the answer is that the men for such a force would not be forthcoming. Service would necessarily be voluntary, and, other than a small percentage of men who would desire an annual outing, the remainder would expect a meeting-place in which to enjoy the companionship of their fellows, which is the greatest attraction the military service has to offer. In the mounted commands the lack of facilities to acquire elementary training in horsemanship, stable management and the grooming and care of horses, would render the force ridiculous upon taking the field.

In this connection it is also to be noted that the amount of monies directly and indirectly appropriated annually by the states for the support of the National Guard is not appreciated by the public. In New York, for example, the funds derived from federal sources bear to the fund derived from state and county sources, a ratio of but one to nine. The states maintain the National Guard not only for use in the suppression of civil disorders, but in furtherance of a policy to make available to the Government in time of need a substantial force of soldiers so equipped and trained that they will render efficient service and reflect credit on the state. This patriotic attitude of many of the larger states is not sufficiently recognized. New York, for example, does not need an entire division of troops to maintain order within its confines. This division, which includes a full brigade of field artillery, is maintained primarily in furtherance of what the people believe to be a moral obligation to support

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the power of the Federal Government, because they appreciate the efficiency of the division, and because they realize that its cost of maintenance is but a fraction of what the cost to the Government would be of maintaining a regular force of similar size.

As it is conceded that the first-line troops should be federal troops in time of peace as well as in time of war, and as the claims of the National Guard based upon the conditions above mentioned should be recognized, it would seem to be a proper policy for Congress, in formulating new legislation, to provide for a new force not to exceed 300,000 men in time of peace, and to do this not under the militia provision of the Federal Constitution, but under the provision which gives to Congress the power to raise and support armies. If such legislation would make provision for the taking over by divisions and lesser units of all the officers and enlisted men of the National Guard of the several states, upon their application, a substantial nucleus of the proposed force would be promptly provided.

No prospect of success has ever in the past accompanied such a proposal. Public opinion is now ready for it. The regular army recognizes its necessity if the National Guard is to be made dependable for use in war. The growing sentiment of the National Guard strongly favors it. The fears of self-interest would be the mainstay of National Guard objections, and these would be dissipated by the plan proposed. After the forces became a federal force, the officers being commissioned by the President and the men duly enlisted in the federal service, those who failed to conform to prescribed standards of professional and physical fitness could readily be eliminated without friction. The same patriotic motive which prompts the larger states to maintain in time of peace, in readiness for use by the Federal Government, large tactical units, would prompt such states to continue their financial assistance and moral support, provided there could be established by the terms of the proposed federal law some legal basis for the use of the troops by the state authorities in the event of their need, so that the state would not be under the expense of organizing and maintaining other forces for such purpose. This could be done by a provision in the law that, whenever, in the opinion of the governor of a state, the power of a county or of the state was insufficient to preserve law and order therein, the governor

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might call upon the commanding officer of any or all the federal National Guard troops stationed therein to suppress riot and disorder; the cost of such service to be borne by the state or county as the state law might indicate. This would meet the needs of the states, would conform in effect with the present system, and would not in any way be incompatible with the federal status of the troops, if the federal law made provision for such use.

Under this plan the present conditions affecting the legal status of the National Guard would be reversed. Under existing conditions, the National Guard, as already stated, consists of forty-eight state armies bearing an improperly defined relation in time of peace to the Federal Government, but subject to its paramount jurisdiction in time of war. Under the proposed plan, the force would constitute a National Guard in fact as well as in name. It would be a homogeneous force with common ideals, methods, discipline and training. It would be subject to the direct order of the President in time of peace as well as in time of war, and would be available by the states under federal authority and with increased efficiency to meet their military needs in time of local disorder.

Certainly a new era of efficiency would rapidly develop if the above plan were adopted, and this would constitute the strongest argument with state authorities in conforming to the plan, for it would not only make available for state use the troops stationed within the state, but would in most cases ultimately provide troops more highly disciplined and better trained.

From the standpoint of national efficiency and economy, the proposed plan would enable the Federal Government to complete the organization of its first-line troops in a substantial manner, without the many financial and economic objections that would apply to regular troops.

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THE FUTURE OF THE BATTLESHIP

BY REAR-ADMIRAL CASPAR F. GOODRICH, U. S. N.

PRIOR to the dreadful war now raging in Europe, the whole of Christendom seemed to have gone mad on the subject of battleships; even countries which our schoolboy geographies used to characterize as "semi-civilized" joining in the race for naval supremacy. The present hostilities have, to a certain extent, postponed the realization of these dreams for some of the minor Powers. The chief shipbuilding nations are doubtless too much engaged in increasing their own naval strength to supply the wants of others. The desire, however, exists practically everywhere, and everywhere the question is asked: What effect will this war have upon our own naval standing? From this query the United States cannot escape.

Whether we approve or disapprove; whether we desire that our fleet shall be, for example, second only to that of Great Britain, and are ready to make the sacrifices necessary to secure that place in the competition, the fact remains that we, too, are in the running; and this fact is well worth study even on the part of those whose confidence in a righteous cause makes them condemn what seems to them a wholly inexcusable waste of public funds. The object of this paper is not to discuss the wisdom of a policy upon which the nation has definitely embarked, but to help the layman in his efforts to reach a conclusion as to what a battleship really is or should be, and to a better understanding of the projects for new types which are brought forward with bewildering frequency.

The term "battleship" is a modern abbreviation of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century "line of battleship," a definition which is self-explanatory. Such a vessel was designed to be associated with others and to take her

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place in "the line of battle," in this respect differing from the frigate, for example, which usually acted alone or as scout and lookout for the fleet.

To narrate the phases through which the battleship has passed since its first appearance as a floating battery at the siege of Sebastopol would require a lengthy volume, and would be foreign to the purpose of this article, yet certain features in this evolution may with propriety—indeed, must—be briefly touched upon. These features embody the notion prevailing at any given period of how the ship should be handled in action. For example, after the battle of Lissa, the ram having achieved, and for a period retained, quite universal acceptance as a determining factor in naval engagements, ships were provided with spurs, and handiness in manœuvring dictated their lines. The development of gun efficiency eventually showed that the chances of two such opposing vessels coming into contact were exceedingly small, and that one or the other would, in all probability, be put out of action before closing in to ramming distance. The ram-shaped bow is still with us; but no one ever expects to use it on an enemy.

There are differing views and schools of thought as to the probable way a fleet action would be fought. One school, which believed that ships would engage in line abreast heading for the enemy, was for a time predominant, as shown by the mounting of guns with chief reference to firing directly ahead and directly astern. All of these trends of naval thought can be traced by the curious through an examination of the various types that have been adopted from time to time, particularly in the British Navy —which, by the way, possessed seagoing iron-clads thirty years before the first *Texas* (our earliest modern battleship)[1] came into being.

The balance between gun-power and armor protection has, in its turn, presented a wonderful diversity. We see excessively thick armor associated with inadequate battery, or so concentrated that but a small portion of the ship's vitals is really shot-proof; or a stupendous battery carried by ships which are vulnerable to comparatively light projectiles.

It is impossible to escape the conviction that, in such

[1] The monitors and other iron-clads of the Civil War are omitted from this comparison.

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cases, the exact employment of vessels in battle has not been calmly and dispassionately thought out, and that too free a hand has been allowed the naval architect, who cares nothing about tactics, and whose only interest (small blame to him) is to design a vessel which shall be bigger, faster, heavier in gun-fire, of stouter sides, or all combined, than anything previously launched.

The uncertainty in the professional mind as to how the battle would be waged is further reflected in what is known as the "battery distribution," which has ranged over the whole gamut of possibilities. There are cases of the heaviest guns mounted aft and firing over the stern, as if escape from a pursuing enemy were the object—a grotesque thought; many more of the heaviest guns mounted forward, but capable also, of course, of discharge on either broadside. Gradually they became concentrated in two turrets, one towards the bow and one towards the stern—delivering half their weight of projectiles ahead or astern and all on either hand. In the desire to secure a maximum fire, both ahead and astern, these turrets were not infrequently placed *en échelon*, the forward one being, let us say, on the starboard bow and the after one on the port quarter, each firing over the deck and parallel to the keel.

In course of time it became evident that this eccentric straining after an ideal defeated its own ends, and that, taking all things together, the best position for a turret was on the median line. While others had reached the same conclusion so far as the heaviest guns are concerned, we were the first to adopt this principle as absolutely governing the design, so that when, as in the *Michigan* and *South Carolina* (completed in 1909), we eliminated the intermediate battery of eight-inch and seven-inch guns carried by their predecessors, the *Connecticut, Kansas, Rhode Island,* etc., concentrating the main battery into eight 12-inch guns in four turrets, we put the latter all on the median line, two forward and two aft, but the end ones a trifle lower than the others (whose guns fire over them), so as to have four guns available ahead, four guns astern, and eight guns on the broadside. It is gratifying to know that our example in this respect has been followed by other nations without exception.

In the desire to keep pace with foreign navies which were turning out dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts, we felt compelled to meet and settle the question of the best placing

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of additional guns. Logically, if mounted on one ship, they should also have gone on the median line, but in a third horizontal plane higher than their neighbors. Doubtless for reasons of stability this latter condition was not fulfilled, and the extra turret in the *North Dakota* class was put on the lower plane, sacrificing that portion of its arc-of-fire which is blocked by the adjacent turret.

The next step is perceived in the Brazilian battleship *Minas Geraes* with her twelve guns in six turrets. The *Michigan's* disposition is adopted for the four at the extremities of the vessel; the remaining two being placed *en échelon,* one on each side. On paper, at least, these last can fire ahead or astern and each on its own broadside direct, as well as *across* the deck, through a limited arc on the other broadside.

As there are two of her class, the question naturally arises whether it would not have been wiser to build three *Michigans* to carry these twenty-four 12-inch guns rather than the two *Minas Geraes.* In this respect, opinions differ, but I have no hesitation in stating that, in my opinion, Brazil made a grave mistake in putting all her guns into two rather than three hulls.

The famous British *Dreadnought,*[1] completed in October, 1906, was a new departure in battleships. It was sought to embody in her design the maxima of battery power, protection and speed. She was given ten 12-inch guns in five turrets,—none, however, firing over another,—one forward and two aft on the median line, and two, abreast each other, at the sides. She can direct six of these guns ahead or astern and eight on either broadside. She has in an action "end on" (something exceedingly improbable of occurrence), two more guns than the *Michigan,* the same number in broadside, and she can steam two and a half knots faster,—a very deceptive advantage which will be discussed later. For this trifling superiority she has had to pay a heavy price. Than the *Michigan,* she is seventy feet longer, nearly two thousand tons heavier, with main or belt armor an inch thinner and no such central casemate or superstructure for the welfare and comfort of her crew. I am not alone in believing the *Michigan* a more formidable vessel than the *Dreadnought,* possessing as she does equal weight of broadside fire, better

[1] The figures quoted in this paper are mostly taken from Brassey's *Naval Annual,* Jane's *Fighting Ships,* and *The Naval Pocket Book.* None are confidential.

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protection, and probably greater handiness in manœuvre.

The advent of the *Dreadnought* was attended by a veritable panic in naval circles everywhere; all previous ships were regarded as outclassed; and to-day navies are compared solely by the number of dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts they can muster. The new point of view, which dismisses former battleships as "obsolete," may have been fostered by Great Britain for a political end, since she counts by the score excellent craft of the *Lord Nelson, King Edward VII, Queen, Albemarle, Implacable* classes, not to mention other types, of which the first two and last one have a much heavier total fire in any given number of minutes, and have in actual target practice made a vastly greater number of effective hits, than the *Dreadnought;* but it may be that the advocates of the *Dreadnought* were sincere in considering her predecessors as thoroughly discredited. Of course, one hit by the *Dreadnought's* 12-inch gun is more damaging than one from the *Implacable's* 6-inch gun (the *Implacable* carries four 12-inch guns as well); but at ranges that enable armor to keep out 12-inch projectiles, an enormous pouring in of 9.2, 8, 7 and 6-inch shells must work havoc on unprotected parts of the vessel assailed, a fact abundantly demonstrated in the fight at Tsushima. I am not decrying the *Dreadnought* or arguing that older ships are better; I am only pointing out that the latter constitute a reserve of immense value. Naval warfare, like nature, does not advance *per saltum,* and we must not be blinded by the glamor of any new proposition whose partisans find in it the all sufficient solution to a world-old problem.

Even we were led astray for a time. In the *Delaware, Utah, Arkansas* and their twins (for there are two vessels of each group), we sought to surpass the powers of the *Dreadnought* and her successors. Thus the *Delaware* and the *Utah* can bring ten 12-inch guns to bear on the broadside as against the *Michigan's* eight, and they have from 2.2 to 2.5 knots more speed; but again the price had to be paid. They are sixty feet longer, from 4,000 to 5,500 tons heavier, and their main armor belt one inch thinner. The *Arkansas* has available twelve 12-inch guns (fifty per cent. more than the *Michigan*) and two knots more speed, for which gain the inexorable laws of naval architecture demand their commensurate toll in 100 feet greater length, 10,000 tons more displacement, and the loss of an inch in the armor belt thick-

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ness. The *New York* and *Texas* are practically like the *North Dakota* in design, but their guns are of 14-inch calibre instead of twelve. The change in battery entails a length greater by fifty-five feet and 7,000 tons more displacement.

While other Powers have toyed with eccentric placing of turrets, we have held fast to basic principles and kept ours where they should be—on the median line. The next pair of battleships, the *Nevada* and *Oklahoma,* are of the admirable *Michigan* type, while two of the turrets, the lower ones, contain three 14-inch guns each. The *Pennsylvania* and the *Arizona* carry twelve 14-inch guns in four triple gun turrets. Their displacement is 31,000 tons, 3,500 tons greater than the *Nevada,* which they closely resemble.

The British seem indisposed to go to excessive size. The ships provided for in the estimates for 1915 are to displace less than 26,000 tons, except one of 27,500 tons, and are to carry eight 15-inch guns. Where we build two of a class, she builds from four to eight. It is interesting to note that only in her recent ships has she adopted the American scheme of all turrets on the median line, and that the five ships of the *Queen Elizabeth* type are exactly similar in type to our *Michigan,* carrying each eight 15-inch guns. The *Iron Duke,* flagship of her battle fleet, is of the *New York* and *Texas* type, but armed with 13.5 instead of 12-inch guns. Germany showed the same reluctance, but finally adopted it on her *Markgraf* and *Ersatz Worth* classes, the last of which, by the way, are supposed to carry eight 15-inch guns mounted as in the *Michigan.* The Italians and Austrians were quick to adopt the three-gun turret, while France is actually putting four guns into one turret.

It seems proper at this point to call attention to facts which are but too generally overlooked by those who discuss this momentous problem: that the ship herself is nothing but a movable platform for the gun, and that her value depends primarily, I had almost said absolutely, upon the range, volume, and accuracy of her gun-fire. We talk about " obsolete ships " when in reality we mean obsolete guns. When Assistant Secretary Roosevelt asked a number of naval officers which they would prefer, one *Wyoming* or twenty *Oregons,* they replied, with practical unanimity, that they would fight the one *Wyoming* against twenty *Oregons.* So everybody jumped at the conclusion that the *Oregon* is worthless.

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At present she can, with impunity, be engaged beyond range of her own battery by the new guns of the *Wyoming,* but replace her short 13-inch guns with modern weapons and a different story might be told. It should never be forgotten that it is the gun, and the gun alone, which has determined the issue in naval battles.

If we lay down the principal characteristics which a battleship should present, we shall be in a position to test the variations manifested in recent constructions, especially abroad, and decide in a general way upon their value.

The military traits of a battleship are offensive strength (the ability to deliver hard blows), and defensive strength (the ability to stand severe punishment). Second to these are speed, the capacity to cover long distances without recoaling (for a ship that is engaged in replenishing her bunkers is a ship non-existent for the time being), and habitability. Under the last term are included berthing space, deck room for exercise, and the countless arrangements on board for taking care of the personnel in sickness and in health. It is only robust and well men who count—every man laid up by illness is a man lost to the battle. The decisive engagement may not last thirty minutes, but the precedent campaign may be and has been of many months' duration. During this period of strain it is imperatively necessary to keep the bodies strong and healthy, the spirits bright and cheerful, that officers and men may go into action fresh, hearty and confident in themselves. For this reason I regard habitability as an exceedingly important military quality.

It was, in the old days, a maxim that "the ship is built to fight her fellow," but an analysis of vessels actually constructed would seem to prove that the maxim has more often been honored in the breach than in the observance. Taking the thickness of the armor likely to be encountered as the starting point, and knowing, as we do, the penetration which may reasonably be expected at a distance regarded by naval experts as probable in coming wars, we can determine the calibre of the gun capable of piercing it under the assumed conditions. It will be perceived that there are three factors entering into the question: the thickness of the belt, the calibre of the gun attacking it, and the range or distance between the ships engaged, affecting, as it does, the velocity and therefore the striking force of the shot.

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Fix any two of these factors and the third can readily be determined. Until recently, 6,000 or 8,000 yards were considered the probable extreme limits of engagement, and the 12-inch gun large enough for all practical purposes, but actual battles have been fought at 18,000 yards. Profitably to engage at that range an *Iron Duke* carrying a 12-inch belt, we should mount guns whose projectiles can, not infrequently, perforate the belt at the incredible distance of nine nautical (ten statute) miles. Nothing now afloat can do this. Indeed, even a 15-inch shell would have no chance of penetrating unless the ships came within seven miles of each other. May we not thin this armor and put the weight saved into other armor or more battery power? It should not be forgotten that the bigger the shell, the larger its explosive charge, the variation being as the cube of the calibre, or, as between a 15-inch and a 12-inch shell, nearly two to one. No wonder guns on board ship are growing!

We have seen that the *Michigan* type can carry eight 12-inch guns on a moderate displacement and moderate length. It may be well to state that merchant vessels are rated by their "tonnage" or cargo capacity, a form of measurement inapplicable to men-of-war for which the gauge of size is "displacement," or the total weight of the ship and all her contents, animate and inanimate. Formerly, if we wanted more guns we had to have more turrets and a longer ship, resulting in a larger target for shells and torpedoes; now, we widen the turret and put more guns into it, instead of lengthening the ship.

The reversion to our *Michigan* type in our last designs is an encouraging symptom. The additional guns, being placed three in one turret, are economically mounted, and undue length of vessel is avoided. The massing of guns in the old three-deckers was due to a desire for concentration. Their guns had so short a range that concentration of projectiles on the target could be secured only by concentrating the guns themselves. To-day, with almost limitless range, the guns may be spread out to any desired extent without sacrifice of projectile concentration. It is by no means certain that fewer guns on board each ship, more ships, and a longer "line of battle," may not be desirable. Involving, as it does, the question of "fire control," this point cannot here be satisfactorily discussed.

To many laymen an armored vessel is like the knight of

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old encased in steel from head to foot. Nothing could be further from the fact. The water-line, turrets, central casemates and conning tower are so protected, but a large part of the ship is not protected at all. Against this part smaller guns are entirely effective. Damage here is dangerous through demoralization of the crew, through wrecking ventilators, air shafts and funnels, through causing fire. History tells us that ships are beaten by these agencies, and that very few are actually sunk by projectiles. Herein lies the value of the secondary battery of, say, 5-inch or 6-inch guns of the pre-*Dreadnought* type of vessel. Some careful students of naval warfare deprecate the elimination of the secondary battery with its great use as a protection, and prefer more such guns to heavier armor. Whether they are right it will be interesting to learn from events.

It would seem as if, in attempting to rival other Powers in their development of the individual vessel, these essential facts have been almost universally ignored: that single-ship actions are a thing of the past; that naval battles in the future will be settled by fleets; that each ship should be so designed as to take her place in the line as one unit in harmony with the other units; that general similarity of these units in tactical qualities (turning power and speed) and battery disposition are essential to effective handling and employment of the fleet as a whole; that a couple of *Leviathans,* in spite of their great power, may hinder rather than help; that even a fleet of *Leviathans* might not prevail over a fleet of smaller vessels of a well balanced type mounting a like number of guns; that practically the same amount of money would buy more *Michigans,* for example, than *Leviathans,* both bringing an equal number of guns into the line of battle; that a *Michigan* could be better spared from the fleet for coaling or repairs than a *Leviathan;* that it is not always wise to put many eggs in one basket.

In rather desultory fashion I have pointed out the relation which subsists between armor thickness and gun calibre, these, with the number and disposition of the guns, being the military characteristics presented by the battleship. Closely allied is the matter of speed. In this respect the preponderance of naval opinion is, unquestionably, that speed is an important quality and that, roughly speaking, the more speed a ship has the better. I admit the advantage speed offers in the ability to get to the scene of action promptly;

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but this advantage may not, in fact, be worth the price paid for it. Indeed, if your enemy gets away before you arrive he is already thrashed. To him, seeking to avoid action, superior speed is *sine qua non.* If he wants to fight he will wait for you, and then quick, hard hitting and the ability to withstand his return blows will determine the result—not speed. It is possible that, through lack of speed, you may not get to the place until the enemy has gone there, carried out his own plan and sailed away, but this case is exceedingly rare if we may believe history. The true objective is, habitually, the enemy's fleet. The combatant who loses sight of this fact invites and seldom fails to suffer defeat.

There are always two ends to a fleet's line of battle. If you cannot easily reach the head, then slow down and go for the tail. Your adversary must, as a rule, follow your motions and prove that it is the slower fleet and not the faster which sets the pace in a naval engagement. In battle, unless your superiority in speed is fifty per cent., you will have no particular tactical advantage. Of all the qualities in a ship none is so fickle as speed; at any moment a bearing may get hot or a pump break down or a boiler tube blow out, and stop or slow down she must and does.

In the fight off Santiago, our newest and fastest ship, far from approaching her trial speed of 17.1 knots, could only limp along at, as I understand, about nine knots an hour. Had she done only fifteen knots, the *Oregon* would not have carried off the honors of that day. At Tsushima, again, the same thing happened. The paper speed of the Russian fleet was not forthcoming. How gladly would the commander have welcomed, on that fatal day, the extra inches of armor or the heavier gun-fire which had been sacrificed for the twenty knots he wanted for escaping and never could obtain! Off the Falklands last January, the 27-knot *Invincible* made but 24 knots according to unofficial accounts.

It is the slowest vessel in the fleet which sets the pace. In the pre-*Dreadnought* days our later ships had a designed speed of about eighteen knots; but the appearance on the scene of this remarkable 21-knot vessel was the signal for naval architects everywhere to design ships equally fast. On our side of the Atlantic, the *Delaware* was the reply, and her excess knots over those of her forerunners were paid for by thinner armor along the water line. It must be remem-

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bered that, having fixed upon the battery and the armor, you can have any speed you like, but the faster the ship the bigger she must be. A *Leviathan* of thirty knots is possible, but only in a vessel of many thousands of tons. There is, of course, a natural and normal increase of speed with increase of size and especially in length, for the bigger the ship the less horse-power is required to propel a ton of displacement at any given rate. I mention that qualification lest it be objected that I have ignored the fact that, other things being equal, the larger ship is of necessity the faster. What gain comes legitimately I am ready to accept, but I deprecate the gain which is not legitimate.

The actions off the Falkland Islands and in the North Sea during the present war throw no light upon the subject further than to show the value of speed in escape—something never in question. The successes achieved there, and off Coronel, were due to the gun and the gunner. Until opposing battleships come into collision, it is wise to hold our judgment in suspense.

We are in no position to laugh at others, however, for did we not, in blind imitation of foreign navies, and in spite of warnings and protests of conservative students of naval affairs, continue to add armored cruisers to our fleet year after year? Even when Cervera's defeat off Santiago proved conclusively (if proof were indeed needed) that armored cruisers are no match for battleships, we kept gaily on in our false path and constructed the former when, at the same price, we could have had the latter.

Had any attention been paid to the opposition, we should now have, instead of ten lightly-clad armored cruisers, as many battleships, nearly enough indeed to form a second battle fleet able to dominate the Pacific Ocean. We purged our system of this madness six or eight years ago, but the evil results of the seizure still linger.

Events thus far during the war in Europe have largely diverted attention from the battleship towards the battle-cruiser and the submarine. As to the first, it is legitimate to contend that if A has heavily armed and very swift vessels, B, his possible enemy, ought to have some of the same class with which to meet their attacks. Just as every machine shop has a variety of tools in order to be able to undertake any work that may be brought to it, so a navy needs several types of craft that it may perform its various tasks

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promptly and efficiently. The battle-cruiser is not such a vessel as should ordinarily be called upon to "lie in the line of battle," however useful on occasion and as a scout at all times. A few we may well covet, but not one at the expense of the real monarch of the seas, the battleship.

In one sense, it may be said that, from the technical standpoint, this war is between the battleship and the submarine. However decided, the latter has certainly come to stay. Of that there can be no doubt. No close student of the present war can fail to observe that it has lately taken on the rôle of a gun vessel in addition to that of a torpedo vessel. I have long known confidentially that it has been extensively used as a scout, a fact I may now mention publicly, since it is announced in Brassey's last issue of the *Naval Annual*.

The submarine has brought new problems into naval tactics which must gravely influence the handling of the battleship. Its power of destruction is beyond estimate—as it has proved already in many instances. Linked with that power is the twin quality of almost total invisibility—a formidable combination, surely. It labors, however, under two disadvantages: its invisibility is not entirely complete—it must at least lift its periscope above the water in order to recognize its target; and it is extremely vulnerable. Any rupture of its skin spells ruin. I am not at liberty to state the number of German submarines already captured or destroyed. It is so large that one must unstintedly admire the courage of their officers and seamen.

Tactically, its influence on the battleship has been to make the latter, when at rest, intimately dependent on external means of defense, such as nets, torpedo boats, etc., and probably to hamper its free movement in a fleet action. Previous to its advent, the captain had but his visible enemy to consider; to-day, he must be on his guard against an unseen, under-water foe. That ships can ever be so built as to survive the successful planting by a submarine of even one modern torpedo seems unlikely, but a minuter subdivision of their hulls may well be expected in future constructions in the hope of minimizing the risk of complete destruction. To Americans, it must be an interesting reflection that the present battles for supremacy in the air and beneath the surface of the water are based upon the inventions of their countrymen—Bushnell, Holland, and Wright.

CASPAR F. GOODRICH.

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OUR RAILROADS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

BY CHARLES O. HAINES.

ALL plans for national defense which do not include the most far-reaching use and co-operation of our railroads must, of necessity, prove both superficial and futile. For a preparedness which omits from its calculations the greatest economic agency of our country, will limp haltingly enough in the event of war. An aroused public sentiment has demanded accretions to our army, our navy, our coast defenses and munitions of war. We are encouraging the education of civilians on military lines. Each of these plans comprises a separate and grave problem. And each requires, from the expert, the keenest intelligence and foresight. But in none of the discussions of the military policy of the United States is mention made of the part our railroads might and should take in the scheme of national defense. Nowhere is there evidence of any plan to utilize these great organisms, so highly developed, so eminently efficient, and so diverse in their activities; remarkable for their powers of mutual co-operation, and co-ordinated with all other economic and governmental agencies of our country.

It is assumed that the Quartermaster-General will arrange for the transportation of troops and munitions of war under conditions, and at charges, deemed suitable. It is expected that numbers of railroad employees will be enrolled in the armed forces, and employed in ways for which their civil training has peculiarly fitted them. Yet transportation, on which the prosperity of a country depends in times of peace, becomes the chief factor in the conduct of any war. It is a basic consideration of modern warfare that armies must move by railroads. Transportation problems in times of peace have their own intricacies. But the prob-

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lems of transportation in times of war are wholly different. They are, in fact, so many and so varied as to overshadow all those separate problems which we are now considering, and which must continue to appear isolated until co-ordinated by this great agency.

Germany's foresight in recognizing the underlying differences between conducting railroad transportation during peace and during war has contributed enormously to her initial successes in the present conflict; while the British Government was,—within a few weeks after the commencement of hostilities,—obliged to recognize this great fact at a cost we cannot yet know, but which will certainly be very great.

With us, however, there is no reason to believe that we are, as yet, aware of this distinction. In this respect at least, we seem to have made no advance since our war with Spain. The attitude then, both of the railroads and of our military leaders, was that the transportation of armies and their needs involved a purely commercial transaction; and the Quartermaster-General was required to arrange for the movement of so many men and so much freight to Port Tampa, Chickamauga, or Montauk, as the case might be. He, or his representatives, called on the traffic officials of different railroads for proposals as to rates, routing, and facilities for handling the business. The most satisfactory proposals were accepted, and troops or munitions of war were sent forward by that route. Traffic officials sought this new business with the same ardor and persistence as they sought an excursion to a fair, or a Grand Army encampment. Shipments of munitions of war were desirable to the extent that the traffic was profitable. One particularly energetic official of the railroad that the writer was at the time managing succeeded in getting a shipment of ammunition for Tampa forwarded by us, though the route was some hundreds of miles longer than the direct one.

Our Government declared war on Spain April 25, 1898. But it was not until May 8 that the Quartermaster-General directed his subordinates to make proper arrangements with the railroad officials, so that troops might be moved with "comfort and celerity." The results of this haphazard policy, concurred in by both Government and railroad officials, were deplorable. They failed of being disastrous only by reason of the feeble resistance of the enemy. Yet, while our press directed public attention to delays in for-

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warding troops, and, more frequently, to the manner in which needed war supplies were held up, the happenings at the front were more interesting, and these adverse criticisms made no lasting impression.

Our railroads to-day are admirably organized and highly efficient. But they are efficient as agents of commerce. They are organized for times of peace. Judging from the lessons of the war of 1898, this wonderful organization, specialized for peaceful commerce only, would again break down into chaos under the stress of a great war. Out of that chaos, sooner or later, would come a capable military organization, but, in the meantime, the nation would have suffered irreparable loss. Yet the time to perfect plans for military and railroad co-operation is while we are at peace with all the world. Our railroad organizations should now be developed and strengthened, so that we may rely with confidence upon their subserving the purposes of the nation at war, and, at the same time, maintain the uninterrupted flow of commercial traffic.

In order to facilitate our present brief survey of this subject, and for the sake of greater clarity, we may consider the national uses of our railroads in time of war under three headings: (1) Utilization of permanent way and structures; (2) Utilization of rolling stock and equipment; (3) Utilization of personnel.

But in any attempt, however tentative, to mould the relationship of the railroads to our military policy, it immediately becomes evident that we must cease to consider our roads as separate systems, and regard them as a whole. In this way only will transportation systems fuse into a comprehensive plan for national defense all those separate problems of army or navy accretions, of coast defense or munitions of war, on which our national attention is now being concentrated. For only by considering our railroads as a whole could all troops and supplies be forwarded by the most expeditious route, whether it be all included in one railway system, or be made up of two systems—or of ten. Obviously, stress should be laid upon our aim to maintain the separate organization and personnel of each company, merely subordinating all corporate considerations and interests, for the time being, to our military exigencies.

The selection of the military trunk lines would depend first upon regional or geographical considerations; and,

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secondly, upon questions of direction, grades, solidity of construction, and security from enemy attack under given conditions. Certain roads would be chosen as feeders or auxiliary lines to the military trunk lines, and certain other roads would be designated chiefly for commercial usage. The interdependence of rail, water, and trolley lines, for strategic purposes, must necessarily be considered, and their physical connections with one another perfected.

Now, although problems of military transportation should be stated by the military strategist, it may be permissible to suggest one, in order to show the complexity and importance of their elements. Let us suppose that an enemy had invaded New England. Let us imagine an army being rushed forward from the Great Lakes to the aid of the defense. The approved plan for military purposes might select the New York Central lines with all of their tracks for the forward movement of troops, while the returning empty equipment might be routed over the Erie. Ammunition and war supplies would possibly be forwarded over the Pennsylvania, the West Shore, and the Delaware and Hudson. In the meantime, however, the great cities in New York and New Jersey would have to be fed, and the Lackawanna and Lehigh Valley would be designated to transport such supplies. But if the expeditious movement of empty equipment necessitated the use of part of the Lackawanna trackage, thus breaking up the continuous operation of that system, this would have to be arranged for by utilizing part of some connecting lines, so that the inflow of supplies for the civil population would be ensured. One such example serves to show the need for an unhurried study of these problems, by both transportation expert and military strategist.

To facilitate such study a first requisite would be the preparation of a railroad map of the United States drawn by competent cartographers, but *from the military standpoint*. On this should be designated the military trunk roads, their feeders or auxiliaries, and also those lines to be set apart for commercial purposes and for civilian benefit. We have already seen that, in the selection of such lines, little or no consideration should be paid to actual ownership, since parts of different railways may be advantageously combined to form one strategic road. Beside showing telegraph, telephone lines, and wireless stations—even though the same lines are mapped separately—these maps must show the

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physical character of the railroads, their grades, number of tracks, character of construction, character of bridges and their location; the kind and character of all connecting tracks, or tracks to landing places on water lines. They must also give the location of regimental depots, army posts, instruction camps, and military headquarters; tracks into such military establishments, as well as tracks for entraining or detraining troops, supply depots, etc., would all be shown. These maps should indicate where additional tracks, bridges, stations, sidings, wharves, or docks would be needed in time of war and the property which would have to be acquired.

With the preparation of these military maps there should also go forward a study of the situation from the same point of view. In this way, recommendations as to additions and improvements to our transportation facilities, regimental and supply depots, camp sites and tracks thereon, would be compiled, for submission to the Government or the owner companies. In many cases, existing railroad structures, particularly freight houses, could be selected for territorial recruitment and regimental depots.

The preparation of equipment data for military purposes would be another work of prime importance. All railroads keep records of their rolling stock, motive power, and other equipment. These are complete as to all necessary details, corrected and revised frequently and regularly. There exists also a list of all rolling stock, which is up to date and accurate. And while this information is only for railroad purposes, it is of the highest military importance, though not, from the military standpoint, sufficiently complete. For such purposes, the capacity of every passenger and freight train car should be stated in terms of men and horses. And it should also be known what classes of equipment, by reason of their size or weight, are limited to use on certain lines; as well as what equipment is capable of speedy conversion into armored trains, siege gun carriages, and the like, and where it is located. Our railroad hospital cars should be listed, described, and assigned to service. Complete information should be available as to the manner and time required to convert postal, dining, and officers' cars into hospital cars; and whether postal cars should not now be so designed as to permit of their quick and satisfactory conversion into hospital cars, or cars for headquarters. Just here, it may be well to remind ourselves that not until the

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16th of June, 1898, when the Spanish War had been in progress for many weeks, was a hospital car put into service, and that had accommodations for but 270 men. And when we consider that, to-day, Russia has three bath trains, each capable of furnishing 3,000 baths daily beside providing other comforts for the men at the front, the military possibilities in our railway equipment become patent. Our railroads also have many special types of mobile machines—steam-shovels, pile-drivers, derrick-cars, etc.—which may be found to have their particular military uses. These, as well as the equipment of our large contracting and construction companies, should all be listed. For if we are sufficiently far-sighted to plan for its military use, no other nation has ready at hand such valuable railroad equipment as our own.

In the personnel of our railroads will be found the third great asset for military purposes. The assignment of railway officials peculiarly fitted for the work of the military trunk lines might be readily accomplished without severing their connection with their own companies. This might be done in much the same way that our army and navy officers are detached from customary duties, and detailed to others, as the Government needs require. Our railroads employ a million and a half of men—and many women—with an average grade of intelligence higher than any other class in the country, professional or artisan. Their training is of the best, their discipline of the highest, their sense of responsibility the most completely developed. In this great body are men of all trades and most professions. To draft men haphazard from it for our armed forces would be folly. Even to permit every individual member of it the choice of enlistment, as the more patriotic duty, would be wrong. Many railroad employees would be of far greater service to the nation on the tracks than in the trenches. It will be necessary to make a roster which will include all classes, and many individuals, describing their duties and special aptitudes in times of peace, and with the nation at war. It should prescribe the proportion of different classes that should be released for army service, and while providing men for military transportation, also provide them for commercial transportation. From their number, certain men might be chosen or might volunteer for special instruction in connection with the national defense. It has long since been found advantageous to instruct train and station men in the safe

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handling of explosives, by means of lectures illustrated with lantern slides, and by moving pictures. A similar method should be devised to explain the features of military transportation by rail, the construction—and destruction—of tracks and bridges under war exigencies, and, in various ways, to familiarize railway men with the different requirements of the two kinds of transportation. These lectures should be given wherever considerable bodies of railroad men can conveniently assemble. The illustrations should show the entraining and detraining of infantry, cavalry, field artillery, and siege guns. Instruction in a suitable manner should also be given to train despatchers, yard masters, and conductors, in regard to the assembling and despatching of troops, hospital and supply trains.

Those men who were assigned to, or volunteered for, special duty in time of war, should be instructed now. In the case of many of the managers or superintendents, this would not be of a formal character, for their experience will qualify them for such duties, and their attention once directed to the subject, they will perfect their capabilities by reading and by discussion in their various associations. For others, the additional study needed would be confined to one or two special instruction pamphlets. Railroad surgeons could become military surgeons merely by a change of title. But the telegraph operator would require considerable technical information before he could be transferred to the signal corps. Quartermasters and their assistants should be selected from the railroad purchasing and supply departments, for these men would need but a knowledge of laws regulating their duties, and the special forms and reports required.

It is needless to pursue this matter further. The main thing to be borne in mind is that, under a properly developed military policy, railroad men generally will have been made acquainted with their different responsibilities and relationships in advance. If war were imminent, these men would take up their new duties automatically, and if the troops and munitions of war had been provided, they would be sent forward with speed and certainty wherever the strategist might direct.

Another important, though subsidiary, element in the relationship between the Government and the railroads in time of war, is the question of remuneration. In 1862, the

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railroad presidents in convention prepared and submitted a uniform tariff for Government transportation. It was accepted as just and equitable, and, regardless of the depreciation of currency, continued in force until the close of the war. A just and equitable arrangement should now be made for relieving the railroads of part of the burdens war would impose upon them. It is more than doubtful whether a tariff for the transportation of men and supplies would again prove practicable. It is probable that the railroads should be remunerated on the same basis which we have considered in their utilization: namely, payment for the use of tracks, of equipment and of men. The experience of Germany, France, and particularly England, would help us here; and the association of railway accountants would aid materially in working out a suitable method for us.

But if we concede that in a plan for national defense the railroads of the United States must be treated as a whole, it is manifest that they must be represented as a whole in the preparation of this plan. For this purpose there should be organized a Railroad Bureau of National Defense. The main function of this organization would be to effect the co-operation of the railroads and the military departments of the Government. But it should do much more. This Bureau should be charged with the collection of data, and the preparation of preliminary plans. Through its agency, the aid and advice of the various railroad technical associations should be obtained and utilized. It should establish the closest and most harmonious relations with the great railroad brotherhoods, and count upon their effective and patriotic co-operation. It should inaugurate and develop a system of instruction in military transportation, and prepare and keep up the roster of railroad men for military purposes.

The establishment of a Railroad Bureau of National Defense, as described, might well be left to the American Railway Association—the leading railway society of the United States, of which the railroad organizations themselves are the members, and wherein they are represented by their highest officials. If this great work should be undertaken by the American Railway Association, success would be assured—for it can point to a wonderful record of achievement. To it we owe standard time, and the standardization of railway practice throughout the United States. Its rec-

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ommendations are everywhere received with respect, and many of them have been incorporated in the laws of the land. Following the usual procedure of the Association, a Committee on National Defense might be added to its list of standing committees. Members of this committee could, and should, be the directors of the Railroad Bureau of National Defense. The American Railway Association could easily arrange for the support of this Bureau.

In suggesting the American Railway Association as the proper body to inaugurate a Bureau of National Defense, the writer has not overlooked the fact that Mexican and Canadian roads are eligible to membership therein. It is felt, however, that this fact may be disregarded, because of the possibility of eliminating all alien representatives from any consideration of the subject of national defense.

Congress has been convincingly urged to establish a Council of National Defense, which, to use the language of the proposed act (H. R. 1309), is to "report to the President, for transmission to Congress, a general policy of national defense and such recommendation of measures relating thereto, as it shall deem necessary and expedient." It is greatly to be hoped that Congress will constitute such a body, and, if so, the railroads should be adequately represented thereon by appointment of one or more members of the American Railway Association Committee on National Defense. By this close co-operation of the railroads with the Council of National Defense, the opportunity will be afforded to discuss many problems more effectively.

The many activities and beneficial results of a railroad bureau acting in co-operation with the Council of National Defense would become manifest to the nation only in event of war. But the railroads, and indirectly the public, would benefit also even in times of peace. From the broader training of their personnel would come an increase in efficiency and a more perfect unity of action, which could not fail to increase public confidence in our railway systems. And to railroad employees would come a more serious attitude toward their civic obligations, and a higher patriotism. Thus a Railroad Bureau of National Defense would soon justify its existence through our greater sense of national solidarity and security. Through its operation, the distinction between commercial and military transportation would be clearly defined.

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To-day, on the battlefields of Europe, methods of military transportation are being tried as by fire. There and now should our transportation experts be acquiring that knowledge which would be of such inestimable value to us as a nation, were our country involved in war. For though our military forces be great, well disciplined, and well armed, they must depend for their success upon transportation. Fail they must if our railroads fail them. And thus to court failure may conceivably bring disaster to the Republic.

CHARLES O. HAINES.

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"THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

BY A. MAURICE LOW

During the last few months our ears have been much belabored with a high-sounding phrase. The world dearly loves a phrase, and the less of meaning it has the more it will be petted and coddled. "High air castles are cunningly built of words, the words well bedded also in good logic mortar," rails Carlyle in cynical mood, but philosophical withal, his cynicism gleaming with the flame of truth. "The Freedom of the Seas" is the latest shibboleth. Serious men and serious publications have fallen to its charm, and there are to-day many well meaning persons, doing their thinking at second-hand, who are victims to the mischief of this fallacious phrase.

Let us begin by clearly understanding what is meant. In time of peace, when nations respect international law and the code of morality, the seas are free to all the world. The sea is the one great Democracy, for there all nations are equal and the ocean bestows impartially its favors. England, the greatest naval Power in the world, possesses no rights that are not enjoyed by Holland, whose naval power is negligible; or shared by Switzerland, whose flag no ocean has seen. England's naval strength gives her no advantages over other nations; she is subject to the same laws and rules and regulations; her might does not absolve her from responsibilities or relieve her from obligations. "The freedom of the seas" is, therefore, an expression without meaning and without value when conscience governs, when sanity rules, when morality is dominant, and nation calls to nation in the voice of friendship. But what is the case in time of war?

This phrase would not have been much heard if German calculations had worked out successfully. We must state the facts plainly in order to ascertain the truth. When Germany

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plunged Europe into war a year ago she relied with as much confidence on her navy as on her army; she was as certain that her navy was strong enough to enable her to keep the sea as she felt secure in the invincibility of her army. Events quickly made her realize that she had as greatly overrated her own naval strength as she had underestimated that of her opponent. A few months after the declaration of war the German mercantile flag vanished from the seven seas; the great German merchant marine, on which the life of the Empire depends, had either fallen prize to the enemy, or was bottled up in neutral ports, or tied up to the deserted docks of home ports: a mocking memory of what once had been Germany's pride. Her ships of war, after having given a gallant account of themselves, were battered and sent beneath the waves or driven to seek asylum by internment; her fighting fleet, refusing to fight, is powerless. In contrast to the collapse of German sea power, her enemy carried out the most marvellous troop movement the world records. Hundreds of thousands of men, with their horses, guns and supplies, were sent from the four quarters of the globe to France. Hundreds of thousands of tons of merchandise—raw material for manufacturing purposes, foodstuffs, military equipment of all kinds—had entered and cleared from the ports of Great Britain and France. And while this was going on, possible only because the German navy virtually was non-existent and the British navy held command of the seas, the coast of Germany was laid under blockade, the High Sea Fleet of Germany was "contained" by the British navy, and was a menace only as a "fleet in being" must always be a military danger to be reckoned with and guarded against. To sum up: Germany, a year after the declaration of hostilities, despite the millions she has spent upon her navy, has seen her commerce destroyed, her ports closed, her supplies dwindling, her military strength weakened, her financial position daily growing more precarious, because she cannot sell, and what she buys she must pay for in gold at a ruinous price.

Under these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that Germany, in her extremity, should appeal to the sympathy of the United States, and clamor for "the freedom of the seas."

War is brutal business, and one of the brutalities of war is that the innocent often suffer almost as much as the guilty;

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the neutral nation, neither responsible for the war nor having anything to gain by it, has its commerce dislocated, its people forced to take great risks and meet heavy losses. To prevent Germany from obtaining cotton, for instance, works a very serious loss to the American cotton grower, but it is one of the consequences of the war provoked by Germany. Cotton is absolutely essential to Germany for the prosecution of the war, for without cotton Germany is unable to manufacture guncotton, and without guncotton, torpedoes are useless and high explosives cannot be made. Great Britain and her Allies, therefore, must prevent Germany from securing cotton.

Under a system that has slowly expanded, the world has agreed that when nations are at war certain articles used exclusively for military purposes shall be declared contraband; they may be traded in at the risk of the trader, but are properly subject to capture. In the old days the contraband list was very simple—powder, cannon, firearms, and a few other similar articles. Modern warfare has called every resource of science to its aid, with the result that there is scarcely an article of commerce that cannot be used for military purposes; hence the contraband list has been greatly extended, and now covers the principal articles of commerce as well as many entering into the arts and sciences. Take cotton as a typical illustration. Before the discovery of high explosives, its value was commercial and not military, but since the invention of the modern gun, with its great range and penetrative power, cotton, to nations at war, has become one of the most important elements in the manufacture of munitions, and its commercial use is subordinate. It is the same with scores of other articles that lose their innocent character the moment war is declared.

Out of the intercourse of nations has grown up international law, which is not law in the sense of municipal law, but is a rather loose arrangement by which nations agree to do or not to do certain things that are partly for their own interest, partly for the general convenience and benefit of mankind. International law is founded largely on precedent, on arrangements that have been found to work with fair satisfaction, partly on treaties and agreements that have become incorporated into the unwritten law of nations.

It is this vague and ill-defined *corpus juris* that allows belligerents certain rights and protects the rights of neu-

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trals. Thus, it is lawful for a belligerent to blockade an enemy's port, but the blockade must be effective physically, not merely a paper decree. Having effectually sealed the ports, or being in command of the approaches to the coast, a neutral vessel attempting to enter a blockaded port may be lawfully captured, and, with its cargo, condemned as prize.

But while the right of seizure is granted to the belligerent so as to enable him to inflict as much damage as possible upon his opponent, and a neutral Government must not, as a Government, supply either belligerent or give any help to the one not given to the other, the observance of strict neutrality places no restrictions upon the trading of the *citizens* of a neutral nation with belligerents. A neutral may trade with a belligerent, but he does so at his peril. If there is sufficient profit to risk sending cotton or anything else to a country under blockade, there will always be adventurous spirits to make the attempt. Neither equity nor morals requires the neutral Government to prevent this commerce. To do so would be to make the so-called neutral not a neutral, but an ally of one belligerent and an opponent of the other. The obligation to prevent the cargo reaching its destination is imposed not upon the neutral, but upon the belligerent, who must be strong enough to make his blockade effective or suffer the consequences.

International law makes a foolish and illogical distinction between absolute and conditional contraband. Under the former is comprised all articles that are solely for military use—arms, projectiles, explosives, ingredients for their manufacture, and other things of a similar character, the Government at war having notified the world by proclamation of what it holds to be absolute contraband.

Conditional contraband may be used for military purposes, but need not necessarily be so used, and its legality of seizure hinges on use and ownership. Take foodstuffs as an illustration; it is because Great Britain is strong enough to prevent the importation of foodstuffs into Germany that the German Government would like to have international law changed.

Foodstuffs imported by a Government or purchased by the military authorities are absolute contraband, on the theory that they are to be applied to military use. Foodstuffs purchased by private individuals are conditional contraband, on the theory, an entirely false one as I shall presently show,

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that they are for the use not of the military but of the civilian population; and while humanity does not revolt at the thought of an enemy's army being starved, it refuses to allow the "innocent"—that is, the non-combatants—to be starved.

This is the extreme of absurdity. The complexities of modern warfare make it impossible to differentiate between combatants and "non-combatants." The man, woman, or child working in the Krupp factory in Essen is as much a combatant as the Prussian private in the trenches in France. The private fires a rifle, and if his aim is good, he kills a British or French or Belgian soldier; yes, but with what?—with the cartridge that is the handiwork of *the men, women, and children working in the Krupp factory in Essen.* The theory of "non-combatant" seems to collapse here.

The conductor who is to-day in charge of a freight train of cotton *en route* to a mill to be converted into explosives, is a "non-combatant," whose starvation is a crime. But to-morrow he is called to the colors as a reservist, and thus he may be starved, because he is a combatant. A schoolboy's debating club would laugh at a proposition so illogical.

Germany would like to enjoy "the freedom of the seas" while denying that freedom to other nations. In torpedoing neutral merchant vessels and giving their crews and passengers no chance to escape, Germany has violated the fundamental law of nations that the sea is free to all neutrals, and a vessel may be destroyed only *after* adequate provision has been made for the protection of life.

The purpose of a blockade is threefold. It is (1) to prevent the enemy from receiving those articles of military necessity without which it cannot prosecute the war; (2) to prevent the importation of food if the country is not able to furnish food for the support of its army and civil population from its own resources; (3) to prevent the enemy from engaging in commerce. All three purposes are designed to accomplish the same end. If the enemy cannot obtain military supplies, its offensive is weakened and its resistance breaks down. If the enemy is placed on short rations, its moral and physical strength is impaired. If it cannot trade, its financial power is crippled, and beggary forces the surrender of its armies.

To the emotional, this may sound very dreadful; and it *is* very dreadful. Slowly to strangle a nation to death, to weaken its power of resistance, to enfeeble it by hunger, to

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impoverish it—these things move pity. But war, as it has been observed, is brutal business, and while the neutral may be moved by contemplating its horrors and may with propriety try to mitigate them, no neutral may or should interfere in what is clearly not its concern. To do so, I repeat—and it cannot be too often repeated because of the erroneous views entertained—is to strip the neutral of neutrality and make him an ally.

The cry raised by Germany that it is inhuman, and against all precedent in civilized warfare, to starve the non-combatant population, I deny on three grounds.

First, I deny its inhumanity. It is, on the contrary, the most humane way of conducting war. When people feel the pangs of hunger they will no longer fight, and the war can sooner be brought to an end by hunger than it can in any other way. It is more humane to make people experience the discomforts of short rations (it is dishonest to talk about their being "starved," as if they were actually in danger of dying from want of nourishment) than to kill them with bullets, or cause them to suffer the awful agony of suffocation from gas, or to wound them and compel them to drag out the rest of their lives crippled, blind, tortured by their wounds, a misery to themselves and a charge upon relatives or charity.

Second, I deny the existence of "non-combatants." For the reasons I have already given, practically the entire population of the German Empire may be said to be fighting, either in the field or in the factory. A neutral who joins the armed forces of a belligerent, according to international law, forfeits his neutrality. A German, man or woman, who contributes to the fighting efficiency of Germany, loses his or her status as a non-combatant. Neither law nor morality will recognize a dual relation: a combatant for the profit of Germany, and a non-combatant so that the individual may escape the rigors of war.

Third, I deny that a blockade to prevent a civilian population obtaining food is without precedent in modern warfare; and for that precedent I refer the reader to the American Civil War. President Lincoln's blockade of the Confederacy had a double purpose: to prevent the exportation of cotton, which was the only means by which the South could raise money; and to prevent the importation of foodstuffs, medical supplies, and articles of military necessity. In

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all history there is no greater lover of humanity than Lincoln, no man with a heart more tender, no man with a deeper love for his fellow man; and yet Lincoln put in force a blockade that slowly but very surely strangled the South; that paralyzed it financially and brought its people to know the meaning of hunger. He did this because of his humanity; because, terrible as were the sufferings of the South, they were less dreadful than slaughter and the human wreckage of war. And in that day, there were, in fact as well as in name, non-combatants. There were no great factories in which women and children worked turning out shells and cartridges and high explosives; the places of the men withdrawn from industrial pursuits were not filled by women; trade came to an absolute standstill, for when the men left field or forge or factory the women could not supplant them.

Humane as Lincoln was, his blockade of the South brought untold misery to England. The English factories, unable to obtain cotton, were forced to close down; hundreds of thousands of operatives starved,—and I use the word in no rhetorical sense. They *starved*. Women and little children went hungry and died because there was no work for them and they could not procure food. The North was not spending millions of dollars a day in England in the purchase of munitions, as England is doing to-day in America; trade with the South was cut off; the war, instead of making England rich, left her poorer; the wretched creatures who died because the looms of Lancashire were silent, paid the penalty that neutrals must always pay in time of war. All these things Lincoln knew, and he was sorely grieved, but it did not swerve him.

The Civil War lasted four years. How long would it have lasted had the pernicious doctrine of "the freedom of the seas" been a principle of international law in 1861? Out of the ports of the Southern Confederacy would have sailed the merchant marine of the world loaded with cotton, which would have been exchanged for the food the South craved and the guns and the powder the South so sorely needed, and under the theory of "private property rights" the navy of the North would have been as effective as toy ships on a lake of glass. It would have been the salvation of the South, just as to-day it would be the salvation of Germany.

Does anyone believe that if Germany had been able to destroy the British fleet, and the coasts of England were

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under blockade and her people were being reduced to surrender by starvation, Germany would be the champion of "the freedom of the seas"? Germany has openly announced that that is what she is attempting to do—to starve England into surrender. That, she has said, is the purpose of her submarine warfare—to cut off the food supplies of England, Great Britain not being self-sustaining and having to rely on other countries to feed her people.

Germany having met defeat on the sea, now invokes the aid of the neutral nations to bring about "the freedom of the seas." Having been unable to destroy the British navy by gunfire she would destroy its usefulness by diplomacy. It is the British navy that stands between Germany and the food she does or does not need, but which she seems so anxious to secure, the cotton which America alone can supply, and the numerous other articles neutral nations would willingly sell if German ports were not barred by British cruisers. What Germany cannot do by her own strength the world is to do for her; the world, calling itself neutral, is to give the lie to its professions of neutrality by nullifying the advantage England possesses through superior naval strength.

An idea that is fantastic, dishonest, or dangerous will always commend itself to a certain type of mind if it is clothed in the garments of rhetoric or can be made to serve morality and appeal to self-interest. "The freedom of the seas" can be made to serve two masters, Mammon and Righteousness. The neutral trader, instead of being incommoded by war, would greatly profit by it, as there would be no interference with trade, and the inevitable effect of war is to enhance commodity prices, so that self-interest would be served. Blockades being outlawed and so-called non-contraband goods immune from seizure, sea power would lose its former importance, and the world would no longer be shocked by witnessing the seizure of a ship attempting to carry goods of prime military necessity to a blockaded belligerent. Why some persons should regard it as peculiarly immoral for a cruiser to seize a merchant vessel trying to trade with the enemy, but find no violation of morality if the same goods are seized on land, it is not easy to say, but they do.

This is the explanation of Germany's anxiety to secure "the freedom of the seas," and is the meaning of the propaganda now being carried on in the United States. If block-

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ades are no longer sanctioned and so-called "private property" rights in cargoes are recognized, Germany, after the conclusion of peace, need spend less money on her navy and have very much more to spend on her army, on building even larger guns than those she now has, and creating greater reserves of arms and ammunition than she had when war was declared last year. But it is a principle that the serious and matured thought of neither the United States nor Great Britain will accept, as it would immeasurably weaken the defensive power of both countries, and would mean the reckless abandonment of a weapon on which both nations must rely for defense.

That the United States may be involved in war is a contingency not to be dismissed lightly or regarded as impossible, for in history nothing is impossible. If the United States were at war the result might be determined by two things —its power effectively to blockade the coast of its enemy, and its power to prevent the enemy from being supplied by neutrals. The United States is the one country that is self-contained. It can rely on its own resources to furnish all the food it needs; out of the earth it can dig coal, copper, iron, and the other minerals on which war feeds; cotton is the yield of its fields; all the guns and munitions and everything else necessary to warfare, its own skilled workmen could create. The United States might be blockaded, if such a thing were possible, and its people would know none of the horrors of famine or have to deny themselves either necessity or luxury.

Enjoying by the grace of fortune such superb advantages, is it conceivable that American statesmen would consider, or the American people permit, their sacrifice in obedience to the demand of the false prophets, the sentimentalists, the theorists, who, meaning well, do the most harm because their vision is clouded and they live in a maze?

No, "the freedom of the seas" in time of war is impossible, because it is a perversion of both the human and natural law, the law that enables the man or the animal endowed with superior advantages to use them for protection when life is at stake.

A. Maurice Low.

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THE BALKAN STATES AND THE ALLIES

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON

"THE world power of England," says a German publicist, "will be decided on the Dardanelles." Mr. Asquith told the House of Commons recently that England has already lost more men in the Gallipoli struggle than she lost in the whole of the Boer War. When the question is asked, what has become of Kitchener's army, since the English are holding less than fifty miles of the western front?—the answer given is, that a large part of the new troops are fighting on the Turkish Straits, and that more are on the way; and Field-Marshal von der Goltz has lately declared that England has lost more warships there than in any naval contest since Trafalgar. From the other side, the pressure towards Constantinople is not less intense. Munitions are within reach of the Dardanelles, ready to be rushed through to Russia the moment the door is opened, and Russian commanders declare that, with these munitions, they could turn their defensive into an attack, and drive the invader back across the frontier. And the door may suddenly be flung open, through the failure of munitions for the Turks; so much so, that Germany is vigorously beginning a drive through Serbia, with the express purpose of carrying to Turkey the supplies she has so far failed to pass through Rumania.

How will this affect the Balkan States? What part are they likely to play in the Dardanelles adventure? And with what result? What lies behind the fever of negotiation that has for weeks been throbbing through the Balkan peninsula, from Bucharest to Athens?

The answer is extremely simple. It all turns on a bit of territory that we used to call Macedonia, but which one might more graphically call the "Naboth's vineyard" of

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the Near East. The passage is worth quoting: "Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house: and I will give thee for it a better vineyard; or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money. And Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee." It is exactly in the spirit of the Balkans, down to the concluding doom, "In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." In the bad old days of Turkish tyranny, men of three nations were scattered about this Naboth's vineyard of Macedonia: Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, with a sprinkling of Rumanian shepherds on the moors among the hills. The Bulgarians, or at least those who spoke Bulgarian, seem to have preponderated; but every one spoke two or three tongues, or at least two or three jargons, and in the chief city, Saloniki, there was a large and well-to-do colony of Spanish-speaking Jews. It was largely the sufferings of the Slavs of Macedonia that led Russia to invade Turkey in the early summer of 1887. It was largely the horrors inflicted on the hapless Christians there that made those "Bulgarian atrocities" with which Gladstone aroused England in the greatest campaign of his life. And, after the war, when the Sultan stood hands-up at San Stefano, Russia planned to give the whole Macedonian area to Bulgaria, which would, in all probability, have saved Europe forty years of bloodshed in the Balkans, as well as two, if not three, wars. But Bismarck and Beaconsfield, acting with the Austrian Andrassy, tore up the San Stefano treaty, and, in the Berlin settlement, thrust Macedonia back under the heel of the Turk. Thereafter, the recovery of Macedonia became a cardinal aim of Bulgarian policy, and the entire ease with which Bulgaria joined to her territory the similar region of Eastern Rumelia, in 1885, only whetted her appetite for Macedonia. This is why, in by-gone years, Bulgarian bands were so ceaselessly active among the Macedonian valleys. It was not only that they were there to fight the Turkish oppressors; they were there, even more, to stake out claims against Serbia and Greece.

So passionate were the longings of all the parties concerned, of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, for the Macedonian Naboth's vineyard, that, at the beginning of 1912, when they

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were joining in league to overthrow the Turk, they very wisely agreed among themselves beforehand exactly what disposition should be made of the disputed ground. They went over the map, village by village, valley by valley, rivulet by rivulet; and, when they had completed the drawing of their lines, there was not the smallest possibility of confusion or misunderstanding. And they even went so far as to say, "Supposing that, in spite of all our precautions, we do fall out over the division of the spoils, we shall appoint an umpire to decide between us." And they agreed upon Tsar Nicholas of Russia.

Here is the whole trouble. After solemnly signing that treaty of partition, Greece and Serbia tore it up. It even seems that they had a secret agreement to tear it up, before they signed it. They would divide Naboth's vineyard between themselves, and kick their ally, Bulgaria, out. This was what Greece and Serbia did. What Bulgaria did was to violate the agreement to call in an umpire, and, instead, rashly to rush into the second Balkan war.

But we can make the matter clearer, and at the same time state the issues more fairly to the Balkan States themselves, by following the succession of events. In the first Balkan war, the eastward swing of the Bulgarian army, that carried them right up to the Chatalja lines, exposed Bulgaria to an unexpected danger. Greece and Serbia, converging on Saloniki, had already occupied Macedonia, the Naboth's vineyard of the Balkans—the territory assigned, in the preliminary agreement, to Bulgaria; and now they obstinately refused to give it up. It is to the land thus seized that M. Gounaris referred when he said, the other day, that "Greece would not cede a square mile of territory to Bulgaria." It was with reference to the same blood-soaked soil that the Ministers of the four Entente Powers made such urgent representations to M. Pashitch, the Prime Minister of Serbia, seemingly with better success.

In fairness to Serbia and Greece, it should be made clear that they thought they had genuine and ample justification for their attitude towards Bulgaria. And in truth they had a pretty good case. It was this: Austria, supported by Italy, who is also very jealous of Serbian—and, in general, Slavonic—influence on the Adriatic, which she claims as an Italian lake, had come forward with a plan to make Albania a nation, or at least an independent principality, under

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Prince William of Wied. At this suggestion, both Serbia and Greece were aghast, for they had counted on dividing the Albanian hills between them, Serbia taking the northern half in conjunction with Montenegro, while Greece took the southern half. But the withdrawal of Albania from the heap of spoils, at Austria's instance, with the consent of the Great Powers, in what was then " the Concert of Europe," robbed Greece and Serbia of the best part of their prizes. Therefore they decided to indemnify themselves out of Bulgaria's purse, which happened, for the moment, to be in their keeping; their armies, that is, were in occupation of the Naboth's vineyard of Macedonia, assigned by the preliminary agreement, as has been explained, to Bulgaria. But they pointed out, with a good deal of reason, that not only were they getting a great deal less than they had expected through the abstraction of Albania, but that Bulgaria was getting a great deal more than she had expected: namely, the whole of eastern Thrace, including the great city of Adrianople.

Bulgaria should have kept her temper, and called in the arbitrator, whom all parties had agreed on in advance, with an admirable insight into their own psychology. But Bulgaria, having promised to arbitrate, decided, in a fit of passion, to tear up the agreement, and to fight, a significant incident in the history of peace-agreements. As to what actually took place, we are fortunate in having the record of Jacob Gould Schurman, who was in Sofia at the end of June, 1913.

Dr. Danyeff, the Bulgarian Premier, received Dr. Schurman on June 27, and talked freely of the dispute with Serbia and Greece. He expressed himself as determined that Bulgaria should not go to war for Naboth's vineyard, and gave his official decision to that effect on the following day, June 28. Yet on the evening of that day, at eight o'clock, unknown to Dr. Danyeff, an order was issued, in cipher, by General Savoff, Commander-in-Chief of the Bulgarian army, to the commander of the fourth Bulgarian army, directing him to attack the Serbians vigorously along the whole front on the evening of June 29. On the afternoon of that day, General Savoff issued another order to the army commanders giving further instructions for attacks on the Serbians and Greeks, including an attack on Saloniki, and stating that these attacks were taking place " without any official decla-

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ration of war." Dr. Schurman, with point, asks whether it is likely that General Savoff thus plunged Bulgaria into a second war on his own responsibility, or whether, in thus defying the Prime Minister, he was not acting under secret instructions from the wily King Ferdinand himself—who had just had a long conference with the Minister of Austria-Hungary.

Be this as it may, Greece and Serbia were on their guard. Rumania, which had so far stood neutral in the Balkan war, now intruded herself, declaring that her neutrality was a valuable commodity, and should be paid for; and on July 10 she seized Silistria, a considerable town in Bulgarian territory, on the southern bank of the Danube. Two days later, tottering Turkey got on her feet again, came forth from the Chatalja lines, and retook Adrianople. On July 15, Dr. Danyeff, the Prime Minister who had been put to open shame by his monarch, handed in his resignation. By the end of July, Bulgaria was checkmated, rather than defeated, and on July 28 a new Peace Conference met at Bucharest, after exactly thirty days' war. But that month had cost Bulgaria dear. She lost territory, with Adrianople, to Turkey. She lost territory to Rumania. She lost more territory to Serbia and Greece, in addition to what they had already "abstracted" in violation of the agreement of 1912.

And now she wants it back again. That is the whole heart of the present situation—the Balkan deadlock, which the Entente Powers are moving heaven and earth to break.

And very naturally. For consider what they have at stake: It is openly declared that Russia's unbroken armies need only ammunition, in order to be able to drive the Teutons back, and, if necessary, put five million new men, or even ten million, into the field on the instant, which would mean such a forward drive as might really end the war by October, as Kaiser Wilhelm is said to have prophesied, but not quite in the sense that he is supposed to have had in mind. And we are told, just as openly, that the munitions for Russia's five millions, or ten millions, are all ready, at the very door of the Dardanelles, within two or three days' sail from Odessa and the Russian railroads. Is it to be wondered, then, that the Entente Powers are eager to break the Balkan deadlock, to get the Balkan armies, at this moment totalling more than a million men ready to go into battle, to try to help force the Turkish door?

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And is it to be wondered that the Balkan Powers are putting up the price? M. Gounaris may, it is true, in all sincerity share his Queen Sophia's dream that the Hohenzollerns are invincible, and that it is a kind of sacrilege to go against them. Let us be charitable, and suppose that he does. But no one who has bargained with Orientals—and the Hellenes are thoroughly Oriental in this—will be easily persuaded that it is a question of anything but the price. Raise your offer, Messieurs les Alliés! You have a big purse. And, if this venture carries, your purse will be bigger still. What other good things are there in the world that Greece covets?—covets more, perhaps, even than she covets the favor of the Hohenzollerns? How about the cession of all the territory about Yanina, stretching up—how far is not yet decided—towards Avlona Bay? Italy is not eager about this, but there is all the coast of Central Albania left for Italy. And how about the old Ionian territory on the other side of the Ægean? If Stamboul falls, that will all be in the gift of her conquerors,—and Stamboul is said to be on the verge of ruin, the last shell already counted. How, then, about the splendid Ionian Empire, with its glorious memories of Hellenic civilization, stretching, if need be, past the realm of Saint Nicholas, right on to the city of Saint Paul? That would be well worth a few miles of Macedonia, in spite of the memories of Alexander. So the bargaining goes on.

What wonder if Ferdinand of Bulgaria also puts up the price? And he has already, it would seem, obtained a slice of territory along the Maritza river from Turkey, to make the railroad to Dedeagach and the Ægean more snug and comfortable—or to keep it out of the hands of the Allies. The consideration paid to Turkey for this valuable "gift" has not been published, but no one who has watched Tsar Ferdinand bargain will believe that he gave much. And he declares explicitly that he is still quite free to join the Allies. Is this a pacifist way of hinting to the Sultan that Adrianople might also be acceptable?

We have seen what splendid prizes the Allies, if victorious, may be able to offer to Greece, to compensate her for "ceding" to Bulgaria a part, at least, of the territory she "abstracted" in 1913, this part to include the port of Kavala on the Ægean. To Serbia they can offer Bosnia-Herzegowina, perhaps Croatia. What other consideration,

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apart from Naboth's vineyard, can they offer to Tsar Ferdinand? That is just the difficulty. Bulgaria is so hemmed in, on all sides except one, that there is nothing available to offer her. The one open side, from the standpoint of the Allies, is Turkey; and here the possibility is that the Sultan may get ahead of them by offering to cede Adrianople, for the mere continuance of Bulgaria's neutrality. That is why, with only Naboth's vineyard available, M. Gounaris thinks he is justified in telling the Entente Powers that the price of vineyards has gone up.

So far, we have said nothing of Rumania. Among the Balkan States, Rumania stands a little apart. Her great tradition, as a colony of Trajan's Roman armies, as the seat, for two centuries, of a Roman culture, closely akin to that which, beginning with Caesar, has made France permanently a "Latin" nation, in spite of Gaulish and Frankish affinities; her language, still two-thirds Roman, and embodying a traditional literature of poetic richness and beauty; her long struggles against the hordes of barbarians who submerged, and finally drowned, the old Roman Empire, put her in a class apart from Bulgaria and Serbia and Montenegro, and link her more closely with the older classic lands.

Rumania has an intense feeling of nationality—the passion that burns so fiercely in the Balkans—but the Rumanian nation is divided, and great sections of it are in the hands of strangers. The Rumanian principalities—long independent of each other under Turkish overlordship—Wallachia and Moldavia, now united, by the simple process of electing the same prince, form the present Kingdom of Rumania. But three parts are still in exile. The first of these, and the largest, is Transylvania, which is at present a part of the kingdom of Hungary; and it is saddening to learn that the Hungarians, who so lately made their own gallant fight for freedom, have used that freedom, since they have gained it, to tyrannize over, and browbeat, the Rumanians and Slavs within their gates. The second part of exiled Rumania is the southern division, perhaps the whole, of Bukowina, the "beechland," which is at present a crownland, not under Hungary, but under Austria. Here, the Rumanians seem to have been much better off than their brethren under Hungary; not, perhaps, because the Hapsburgs love the Rumanians more, but because they love

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the Ruthenians less, and have made the Rumanians of Bukowina a counterweight against them,—as they have done with the Poles, in Northern Gallicia, setting the latter against the Ruthenians and the Czechs and Moravians. The third part of exiled Rumania is Bessarabia, the wedge between two rivers flowing into the northwest corner of the Black Sea. In the war of 1812 between Russia and Turkey, vivid pictures of which Byron has painted in his greatest poem, a tract between the Dniester and the Pruth was ceded by Turkey to Russia. Rumania as a separate nation or kingdom had not then come into existence, but a majority of the people of the ceded territory were, by race and language, Rumanians. When peace was made in 1856, after the Crimean War, the western half of Russian Bessarabia was re-ceded to Turkey, as one of the victorious Allies, and was thus practically incorporated in Rumania, which had been growing to national consciousness and life since 1812. Rumania counted it a part of her territory; but so did Russia. And the difference is as sharp to-day as it was in 1856. Then, in 1878, when peace was made once more between Russia and Turkey, Russia, this time the victor, received, as part of the spoils, the western half of Bessarabia, which for twenty-two years had been a part of Rumania. A deep feeling of resentment against Russia has remained in the hearts of the Rumanians ever since; and it is on this that the Teutons have relied in their negotiations with Bucharest. They have openly promised Bessarabia to Rumania, as the reward of mere neutrality; and Germany has promised her, in addition, large pieces of Austrian and Hungarian land, in Bukowina and Transylvania, if she will actively aid the Teuton Empires.

But Rumania has turned a very deaf ear to the Kaisers, and, in spite of all the persuasions of Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg, has flatly refused to allow munitions of war to go through Rumanian territory to Turkey, even when large bribes have been added. Therefore, we are told, Germany is now beginning a drive through Serbia, to open an alternative road to Stamboul. The reason is, that Rumania and Serbia meet, along a frontier of some fifty to sixty miles, along the Danube—south and east of the Iron Gate—thus completely isolating Bulgaria from the Teutonic Powers. So that even if Bulgaria were willing to let munitions through to Turkey—and this may have been the " con-

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sideration" for the strip of land along the Maritza—she could not accomplish what she desired, because Serbia and Rumania block the way. And the Teutonic Powers, which hold high moral ground on the subject of neutrals providing munitions to belligerents, can hardly go to war with Rumania to compel her to do exactly that.

But Serbia is already at war, so it is entirely lawful to open a road through Serbia—or to try. While but fifty miles separate the Austro-Hungarian frontier from the Bulgarian, merely to occupy these fifty miles would do no good at all. For the territory is mountainous, roadless, railroadless; and to get to the railroad would mean to occupy another hundred miles. And it may well be supposed that Serbia would find herself stiffly reinforced by troops of the Allies, poured in from the Adriatic, should Greece, pertinaciously neutral, refuse them passage by way of Saloniki.

So that the strife of wills and interests, the making of destinies, continues with intense activity and stress among the Balkan States. Every day, new factors are injected into the contest. Any of these factors, or others still incalculable, may at any moment change the equation of the Dardanelles. But day by day, and hour by hour, momentous issues are there being hammered out, and new pages of world-history may be headed by the word Gallipoli.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

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PRACTICAL PAN-AMERICANISM

BY JOHN BARRETT

"PAN-AMERICA" and "Pan-Americanism" are to-day terms of such vast and potential significance in world affairs that every one should be interested in their practical application and interpretation. Affecting vitally the progress and prosperity of every American republic and, therefore, the welfare of every citizen thereof, they are not to be dismissed as mere concepts of the moment. Although long known in the phrase-book of international relations, they have an extraordinary present-day meaning which, based upon both fact and fancy, appeals alike to the reason and the imagination. Not only do they concern directly all the nations and peoples of North and South America, but indirectly many of the nations and peoples of Europe and even Asia.

The present and future position, influence, and very existence of each of the twenty-one American republics are and will be so related to the wise use of the power of Pan-America, and the just application of the principle of Pan-Americanism, that all patriotic and thinking Americans from Canada to Chile should study thoughtfully what Pan-America and Pan-Americanism mean. The remarkable fact, moreover, that the European war is possibly doing more than any other influence in history, since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, to develop and emphasize Pan-American solidarity and community of interest and purpose, makes it inevitable that European statesmen must recognize as never before this mighty force in the present and future of world progress.

When the Secretary of State of the United States, acting under the advice of the President, recently invited the six ranking diplomatic representatives of Latin-America: the

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Ambassadors of Brazil, Chile and Argentina, and the Ministers of Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala, to confer with him regarding the Mexican situation, the United States Government engaged in practical Pan-Americanism. It took a step forward, which not only attracted the attention of all the world and won the approval of all America—judging from the almost unanimously favorable comment of the Latin-American and United States press—but showed conclusively to the world that purely Pan-American problems ought to be settled by the concert of American nations. Such action, however, was in no way antagonistic to European nations or those outside of the Pan-American Union. It was taken just as much for the benefit of their legitimate interests and their peoples who reside or do business in American countries, as for the corresponding interests and peoples of the Americas. In truth, Pan-Americanism, in its correct interpretation, is in no sense anti-European or anti-Asiatic in its policies, purposes and propaganda, but an honest expression of the fundamental right of nations having similar geographical, historical, political and commercial interests and inspirations to act together for their common good and protection. Pan-Americanism can be defined in its simplest form as the common or concerted action or attitude of the twenty-one American republics for the welfare of one or more or all of them without infringement of their sovereignty or integrity.

It may be said that by this invitation the United States demonstrated that, while in its sincere efforts to advance practical Pan-Americanism it desires all the nations of Pan-America to share in the blessings of their individual and collective peace and prosperity, it holds the belief that they should also share in bearing the burden of troubled conditions in any one of them which may react unfavorably upon all. By it the United States tangibly recognized the growing influence and importance of the other American republics and their part and responsibility in the Pan-American family, which, if neglected or unrecognized by the United States, might suggest an attempt at domination or self-established superiority on its part that would perhaps promote distrust where confidence is necessary, and might seem to deny the equality of interest and responsibility of the other republics which their individual sovereignty inherently gives them. This action should prove to Mexico and to all

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Latin-America that the United States Government and people have no sinister designs and plans against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mexico or the other American republics, but are actuated by the highest humanitarian and fraternal reasons in their efforts to assist in evolving tranquility of conditions and stability of government in a neighboring republic and among a nearby suffering people.

Even if this present effort at Pan-American co-operation shall fail to accomplish all that may be expected of it—for at this writing the final results have not been determined—such failure would not be more of an argument against the wisdom and sincerity of the attempt than would the failure of any logical co-operation of neighbors, associates and friends to help one of their number who is in dire distress. Whether it succeeds or fails, it shows the good intentions of the governments concerned. It develops their mutual responsibility. It brings them closer together as friends and neighbors. There is excellent evidence of this fact in the "ABC Mediation" which took place a little over a year ago. That concerted effort of three Latin-American Powers was supported by the other sixteen in a resolution of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union approved May 6, 1914, to the following effect: "The Pan-American Union applauds and supports the mediation offered by the Governments of Argentina, Brazil and Chile through the medium of their distinguished representatives for the preservation of the peace of the American continent." The effort did not result in establishing peace in Mexico, but it accomplished more than any other influence in many years to bring the American nations closer together and to prove their unselfish desire to aid each other in preserving peace in the Pan-American family. The Ambassadors of Brazil, Chile and Argentina are entitled to much credit for their long, persistent, and patient endeavor to bring about directly a settlement of the differences between the United States and Mexico, and indirectly permanent peace in a suffering sister nation. History will accord them more honor than has contemporary sentiment.

In discussing practical Pan-Americanism as shown in the co-operation or mediation of the American republics in the matter of Pan-American questions, it is interesting to recall some notable precedents for such international action. A

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survey of the one hundred years which have passed since most of the Latin-American republics gained their independence discloses many instances of greater or less Pan-American co-operation, but mention is made here only of comparatively recent cases. In 1895, when President Cleveland sent his famous message to Congress regarding the British-Venezuelan boundary dispute, the governments of several of the Latin-American republics sent congratulatory resolutions passed by their Congresses or expressed some official satisfaction at his action. In 1906, when President Gomez was inaugurated President of Cuba, following the intervention of the United States, practically all the Latin-American Governments, acting in harmony with the United States, sent special diplomatic representatives to be present, and this signified their sympathy with the United States in its unselfish efforts to preserve order and establish permanent peace in Cuba.

In 1907, the notable Central American Peace Conference was held in Washington, under the auspices of the Pan-American Union. This was attended by official delegates from the five Central American Governments, which, in turn, invited the United States and Mexican Governments to appoint plenipotentiaries to co-operate with them in reaching conclusions and drafting treaties that would prevent wars between Central American nations. This co-operation was effective, for since then there has been no actual warfare between any two or more of the Central American republics, although one or two have been disturbed by slight revolutions. In 1910, when Argentina and Bolivia were somewhat at odds over an arbitral award, and Argentina did not see fit to extend, or Bolivia to accept, a direct invitation to participate in the Fourth Pan-American Conference, the good offices of several Governments brought about a resumption of friendly relations. In 1911, when Colombia, Ecuador and Peru seemed on the verge of going to war over boundary questions, the United States and several Latin-American Governments united in making representations which helped to prevent an actual conflict. It may also be remembered that when, several years ago, negotiations between the United States and Chile over the so-called Alsop claim were somewhat strained, the informal and friendly suggestions of one or two of the Pan-American Governments relieved the situation and prevented a possible serious crisis.

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To point out and summarize some of the principal present-day developments of practical Pan-Americanism, three main propositions and facts can be noted as follows:

I. The most potential and interesting opportunity and responsibility before the United States in the realm of foreign relations to-day lies in the twenty Latin-American republics which extend from Mexico and Cuba south to Argentina and Chile.

II. These republics, in turn, according to the statements of their statesmen and newspapers, are more desirous than at any previous period in their history to get into closer political, commercial, economic, financial and sympathetic touch with the United States.

III. With the Old World, including Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and our own nearby Canada, engaged in the most titanic war of all history, the New World, or Pan-America—comprising twenty-one nations at peace with each other and inspired by the Pan-Americanism born of common purpose and interest—is destined to become the mightiest combination and influence for universal peace and good-will among nations and men which the world has ever known.

It is now necessary and fitting, in order to understand this remarkable Pan-American situation, to consider and enumerate some of the principal influences and agencies of recent years which have helped to bring it about. Among these the following may be cited:

1. The unremitting work of education, information and propaganda in behalf of peace, friendship, commerce and general intercourse among the American republics, carried on through many years and in the face at times of serious difficulties by the Pan-American Union (formerly known as the Bureau of American Republics), the international official organization and office of the twenty-one American republics, maintained by them in Washington and controlled by a Governing Board made up, by international agreement, of the Secretary of State of the United States and of the diplomatic representatives of the twenty other republics accredited to the United States.

2. The new and special attention given in late years by the State Department of the United States to diplomatic and commercial relations with all of the republics of Latin-America; and the recent activity of the Government in promoting Pan-American trade.

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3. The visits to Latin-America of high officials of the United States Government, especially of Secretaries of State, and of other representative statesmen, scholars, editors, writers, travelers and business men; and the activities and efforts of an able corps of United States diplomatic and consular representatives, military and naval attachés, in the Latin-American capitals and principal centers of commerce and social life.

4. The presence in Washington of exceptionally high-grade Ambassadors and Ministers, secretaries and attachés from all the Latin-American Governments, who, by their character, ability, tact, and public utterances have created a profoundly favorable impression, and also, as members of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, have wisely advised and inspired its executive officers in the administration of its work for peace, friendship and commerce.

5. The meeting, at varying intervals, of the great official international or Pan-American Conferences, beginning with the first, which met in Washington in 1889-90, and including the second at Mexico in 1901-2, the third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, and the fourth at Buenos Aires in 1910, which were attended by plenipotentiaries from all the republics, and at which many Pan-American questions and problems were frankly and amicably discussed.

6. The holding of numerous other official or semi-official Conferences, such as the Pan-American Scientific Conferences, the Pan-American Sanitary Conferences, the Pan-American Medical Conferences, the Pan-American Commercial Conferences, including, in particular, the one which met in the Pan-American building in 1911 under the auspices of the Pan-American Union in response to invitations of the Director General, and also its more ambitious successor, the Pan-American Financial Conference, which assembled in the latter part of May of this year in response to the invitations extended by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; these, in turn, to be followed by the International Joint Commission—growing out of the late Financial Conference—which will meet in Buenos Aires, Argentina, next November, and the second Pan-American Scientific Congress which will meet at Washington December 27, 1915-January 8, 1916.

7. The extraordinary recent progress of many of the Latin-American countries in population, commerce, political

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influence, peaceful conditions, stability of government, transportation facilities, education, science, arts and literature —a degree of progress which has demanded world-wide attention and recognition; the growth of great cities and commercial entrepôts among them; their increasing attraction for travelers and explorers; the exploitation of their marvelous and limitless agricultural, mining, timber, industrial and water-power possibilities; and the rapid evolution in some of them of progressive and ambitious peoples seeking active participation in world affairs.

8. The construction and completion of the Panama Canal, which, while physically dividing North and South America, has commercially and politically brought the two continents closer together and quickened the interest of the world in the countries which can now be reached through it; the improvement of steamship and transportation facilities logically resulting from it; the betterment of sanitary and healthful conditions in tropical and subtropical sections of Latin-America which were inspired and undertaken as a result of the example set and the good accomplished at Panama.

9. The recent widespread attention, which the Pan-American Union labored during many years to awaken, now being given to Latin-America by Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, other commercial, industrial and financial organizations, civic societies and literary clubs, universities and colleges, newspapers and magazines, books and pamphlets; the almost overwhelming and constantly increasing demand on the Pan-American Union, from all parts of the world, for every variety of information relating to each American republic; the call upon the Latin-American diplomats and executive officers of the Pan-American Union for numerous addresses on Pan-American subjects; and the progressive action of some of the representative banking, manufacturing, exporting, importing, and shipping firms and companies of the United States and Latin-America in forwarding Pan-American material development.

10. The practical results actually accomplished for Pan-Americanism through the initiative of the Pan-American Union during the last eight and one-half years, as follows: (a) the establishment of courses in Spanish (and in some instances in Portuguese also) and in Latin-American history, geography and natural development, at over 2,000 uni-

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versities, colleges, normal and high schools, academies and private educational institutions throughout the United States, with corresponding help in the establishment of English courses among Latin-American colleges and schools; (b) the regular acceptance by 1,500 newspapers in the United States and 300 in Latin-America of descriptive matter and news bulletins relating to the progress of the American republics; (c) the causing of over 3,000 libraries in the United States and many in Latin-America to equip their shelves with books relating to the Pan-American countries, based on lists carefully prepared by the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan-American Union; (d) the supplying of data and information which has caused over 5,000 manufacturers, exporters, importers, bankers and other business men to investigate or develop Pan-American business relations, and has resulted in an actual increase of $400,000,000 in Pan-American trade; (e) the providing of information which has aided over 6,000 North and South Americans to visit other American countries than their own; and (f) the purchase of property and the construction of a building for a fitting headquarters of the Pan-American Union as an international organization and home of practical Pan-Americanism, at a cost of approximately $1,100,000, towards which Mr. Andrew Carnegie generously contributed $850,000 and the American republics $250,000.

11. Finally, and perhaps, at the moment, most important of all, the three following influences: first, the European war, which has demonstrated practically and convincingly the interdependence and common interests of the nations and peoples of the western hemisphere; second, the Mexican revolution, which has brought the United States and its sister republics face to face with one of the greatest problems of Pan-American peace and fraternity, and has inspired the spirit and action of Pan-American mediation and co-operation; and, third, the statesmanlike, unselfish and sympathetic interest and attitude of the President of the United States in all questions and matters pertaining to the Pan-American relations of the United States, which has been appreciated throughout Latin-America and reciprocated by the Presidents of the other American republics.

Fully to grasp the significance of Pan-America and its resulting product, Pan-Americanism, it is necessary to remember what Pan-America represents in area, commerce and

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population. The combined area of Pan-America, exclusive of Canada, is 12,000,000 square miles, of which the Latin-American countries occupy approximately 9,000,000 and the United States 3,000,000. This physical extent of Pan-America is better realized when it is compared with that of Europe, which has 3,750,000 square miles, with Africa, which has 11,500,000, and with Asia, which has 17,000,000.

Remembering that commerce is often described as the "life blood of nations," the Pan-American family certainly can be classed as lusty and full-blooded, for, in the last normal year before the war, 1913, Pan-America's foreign trade, including both imports and exports, was valued at the enormous total of, approximately, $7,000,000,000, of which the share of the United States was about $4,200,000,000 and of the Latin-American countries $2,800,000,000.

In this connection there should be emphasized strongly a fact not generally appreciated, and not in harmony with the snap judgment and comment of many superficial students of Pan-American trade, or of those who are deluded by the impression that only during the last year have American business men awakened to the Pan-American opportunity: namely, *that in the actual exchange of products between foreign countries and Latin-America the United States leads all other countries, including Great Britain and Germany.* In other words, the actual value of the exports and imports which the United States exchanged with the twenty Latin-American countries in 1913 exceeded $800,000,000. The total for Great Britain was $640,000,000; for Germany $410,000,000. These figures covering both exports and imports—for that is the only true way to measure foreign commerce—should effectively destroy the bogey so frequently stalking about, that the United States is far behind the European countries in its trade with Latin-America. While it is true that Great Britain and Germany did lead the United States in the value of products exchanged with some of the countries of South America proper, they were far behind the United States in their commerce with all Latin-America, which includes all countries from Mexico and Cuba south to the Straits of Magellan.

It is gratifying, moreover, to state that the commercial and financial interests of the United States and Latin-America have, during the past eight years, been responding more and more each year to the efforts of the Pan-American Union

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to build up greater trade exchange and closer financial relations among the American republics. This is proved beyond doubt by the fact that in the period during which the writer has served as the executive officer of the Pan-American Union, or since 1906, the value of the exports and imports exchanged between the United States and the twenty Latin-American countries has grown from less than $500,000,000 to more than $800,000,000.

Pan-America's real greatness, significance, and power in world relationship are also emphasized by appreciation of its present population and the future possibilities for a vast increase. Its twenty-one nations can now boast of a population of 180,000,000, of which 100,000,000 are living in United States territory and 80,000,000 in Latin-America.

There are several unfortunate impressions concerning Pan-American relations, among those uninformed as to the real Latin-America, which should be corrected in order that true Pan-Americanism shall not be unfairly hampered in its logical development. One is the too prevalent opinion about revolutions and armed political disturbances. Despite the troubled conditions in Mexico and Haiti which to-day tend to distort the vision, two-thirds of the population and area of all Latin-America have known no serious revolution in thirty years, while it has had so few international wars in a hundred years that it can shame Europe's record for the past century. There is also the suggestion that all Latin-America is opposed to the Monroe Doctrine. But what is interpreted as opposition to the Monroe Doctrine is not a feeling against the original Doctrine and the conditions under which it was declared, but against a kind of casual interpretation of it in the United States which carries the obnoxious intimation that the United States has a "holier than thou," a supreme, position among the nations of the western hemisphere. Latin-America, as a matter of fact, believes in a just and unselfish interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine—an interpretation which would make it a Pan-American principle or policy, by which all the countries of North and South America would stand for the sovereignty and integrity of each.

In this discussion of Pan-America and Pan-Americanism, Canada has not been included because she is a part of the British Empire, and yet in many respects she is as closely associated with the purposes of Pan-Americanism

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and as dependent upon Pan-American commerce and relationship as some of the countries forming the Pan-American Union. Some day, and possibly one not too far distant, it is probable that Canada will desire to become an active member of the Pan-American Union, or, at least, an honorary or corresponding member, so to speak, if that can be arranged by international agreement. When that time comes, Pan-America, in its broadest possibilities, will include twenty-two Governments instead of twenty-one as now, and there can be little doubt that Canada herself will become as staunch an advocate and friend of practical Pan-Americanism as any of the ABC or other Latin-American Powers which have participated in Pan-American mediation, or have joined in Pan-American co-operation and the growing work and responsibilities of the Pan-American Union.

JOHN BARRETT.

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THE SHACKLED SENATE

BY CHARLES S. THOMAS, UNITED STATES SENATOR

THE Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States transformed the American Senate from a chosen to an elective body. This fundamental change was wrought after many years of agitation. It encountered and finally overcame the bitter hostility of the conservative elements of society, which, of course, included the Senate itself. The movement rested upon the assumption that the Upper Chamber had ceased to be an aid and had become an obstacle to the healthy progress of popular government. Its independence of the electorate made it peculiarly susceptible to the influence of privilege, so that its natural conservatism hardened in the direction of class prerogative. The cure for this dangerous tendency was believed to consist in depriving the State Legislatures of their power to choose its members, and provide for their election by popular vote. The Senate would then function as the ally rather than the antagonist of the House, and become, in fact as well as in form, a representative body.

The triumph of this great reform would indicate that the causes assigned for its demand were finally recognized as actually existing, and that the evils complained of would disappear with the adoption of the suggested remedy. Hence the operation and tendencies of the Senate as now constructed have been watched with unusual interest, and the results during the short interval of time elapsing since the change was made have, on the whole, justified the claims of its advocates.

But new motive power, to be effective, must work through adequate mechanical processes. It must be supplied with new machinery or the old appliances must be made adaptable to its needs by suitable alterations. This principle applies as well to legislation. As the electric current displaces steam

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power, through the agency of the dynamo which generates and the motor which directs it, so the modern legislative spirit can supersede the old conditions and become fully articulate only through agencies especially designed for that purpose. But the new Senate has not yet supplied itself with new tools. It must do this, or the promise of the Seventeenth Amendment may fall far short of realization.

The Senate rules of procedure were adopted in 1806. They have undergone but little alterations since then, although precedents established under them by succeeding Senates are numerous and bewildering. The rules of the House expire with the Congress enacting them; those of the Senate have been constant and threaten to become immortal. One hundred and nine years ago, and for years thereafter, the business of the National Congress was small in scope and easily transacted. The occasions for obstruction were infrequent. The sessions were short. Distances were great, and federal activities were usually restricted to the rigid limitations of the letter of the Constitution. Any rules whereby the business of legislation could proceed in orderly course consistent with short sessions and early adjournments would amply suffice for such conditions.

But as the needs and activities of the nation increased with the increase of its population, partisanship became more manifest, and political and personal interest increasingly identified themselves with national legislation. Under these influences, the privileges and limitations of the rules were naturally invoked, sometimes as a sword, but more frequently as a shield. Through these processes they crystallized into weapons of obstruction and delay in both Houses, paralyzing their powers and delaying or defeating their operations. By refusing to respond to roll call, or by resorting to endless and interminable discussion, the minority, when so disposed, could prevent a vote on any measure or permit a vote upon terms of its own dictation.

This intolerable situation reached its climax in the House in 1890, when it was given its quietus by the late Speaker Reed. Since then the Senate has been its house of refuge. More recently, however, Senators present but not responding to the roll call are counted when necessary for a quorum, and that evil has been mitigated in some degree. But the "right of unlimited debate," as it is called, has long been an established Senatorial institution, zealously defended by con-

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servatism as a shield of the minority, and as zealously utilized whenever the spleen, the interest, or the partisanship of any small group of Senators is moved to assail measures obnoxious to them. Indeed, one man alone can interrupt the entire machinery of legislation. However formidable the majority may be numerically, unanimous consent is the *sine qua non* of final action. "When filibustering began," said Mr. Reed, "it took a whole political party to block business. It has ripened to such a degree of impossible perfection that one man can now hold the country at bay."

The Senate rules do not in terms make provision for closing debate and reaching a vote. Hence a single objection to the final submission of a bill is held sufficient to prevent a disposal of it. And since the system applies to every subject of consideration, a resolution amending the rules can be filibustered to death just as easily as a great party measure. This explains the failure of all efforts to effect any substantial change in the rules for over a century. Thus, during the filibuster against the Shipping Bill last January, Senator Reed sought to break the deadlock by a motion providing for a vote at a specific time upon the demand of a specific number of Senators. This changed the subject, but not the situation. The minority merely shifted its point of attack and exhausted hours in preventing a vote upon the motion.

Revolts of the majority against these methods have occurred on several occasions since Van Buren's time. Those of Henry Clay in 1841, of Douglas in 1850, of Hamlin and Wilson in 1870, were conspicuous though ineffectual. "Let our contests," pleaded Mr. Clay, "be contests of intellectuality and not of physical force, in seeing who could sit out the other, or consume the most time in useless debate." Even in his day the filibuster was a mere contest of physical endurance, unenlivened by monotonous harangues having little, if any, relation to the question before the House.

In 1893, during the filibuster against the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, a number of amendments were proposed by different Senators, all designed to place some limit upon debate. Among those advocating these amendments were Senators Lodge and Gallinger, both of whom are now prominent and eloquent defenders of the old system. Senator Platt of Connecticut then declared that the Senate was fast losing the respect of the people, which regarded it as a body existing to retard legislation, because under its

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rules it was virtually impossible to take action upon any bill encountering opposition. He also denounced the filibuster as an inhuman affair, since it was a contest of endurance and not of intellect.

Senator Vest, one of the obstructionists on that occasion, said that if any oracle could be found to solve the difficulty and tell him how the pending measure or any measure could pass the Senate with the opposition existing against it, he would conclude that Omniscience had imparted itself to that individual and given him a solution which had not yet been found. And Senator Lodge, both in the Senate and through the columns of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, boldly declared that since the rules contained no method of compelling a vote, they were based upon courtesy, which must be reciprocal or cease to exist. The courtesy which concedes unlimited debate must, in turn, concede the right to vote, or it becomes impossible as a rule of conduct in a legislative body. He emphasized the fact that the right of debate, though important, is not the only nor the most important privilege to be considered; that the right to vote is more sacred than the right of debate; and that, when unlimited debate can be used for purposes of obstruction, and to defeat the right to vote, the system of courtesy has become not only impossible, but an abuse and a danger. Truer words were never spoken, albeit this same Senator was not only conspicuous in the obstructive tactics of last winter, but defended the system with all the enthusiasm of a recent convert.

Under the existing rules, a Senator may talk to the point of physical exhaustion, and, after a period of rest, while others are conducting the filibuster, he may again take the floor and repeat the process. A graphic instance of the manner in which this privilege can be abused was furnished by Senator Weeks on March 3rd last, when the Shipping Bill was last reported out of Committee. After announcing his own purpose "to address himself to it at considerable length," he gave a list of Senators who would follow him, which included the names of Burton, Root, Gallinger, Lodge, Oliver, Jones, Penrose, Townsend, Smoot, Lippitt, Poindexter, McCumber, Bristow, Cummins, Sherman, Clapp, Sutherland, Nelson, Sterling, Clark, Warren, Smith, and du Pont. Nearly all of these Senators, including himself, had spoken on the bill theretofore, some of them for a stretch of more than thirteen hours. Needless to add that, as the Congress

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had but one more day of life, the Senator in charge of the bill was compelled to withdraw it from further consideration. Senator Weeks, as the mouthpiece of the minority, easily dictated the course of the Senate to a numerically strong majority, made legislatively helpless by its own rules of procedure. Clearly, this is the antithesis of democracy.

The proponents of unlimited debate declare that it has at times served a good purpose. Without regard to party, they point to the defeat of the Force Bill of 1890 through its agency as a conspicuous instance. But the same argument may be invoked in behalf of every evil through which some good cometh. It serves merely to emphasize the evil, and the necessity of removing it, since the good may be attained in other and far more desirable ways. For it may be asserted that not only are many good measures defeated by obstruction, although demanded by decided majorities, but many schemes are engrafted upon the laws by the threat of filibuster against needed pending legislation, which would not otherwise be seriously considered. The evil is potent, both actively and negatively. Riders upon appropriation bills, and amendments wholly foreign to the subject matter of other bills, are proposed and accepted as the dire alternative to successful obstruction. The latter has therefore become a species of legislative blackmail. Carefully prepared measures of great importance are mutilated, and the fruits of good legislation are minimized. Many instances of this character could be given if space permitted; and the practice naturally grows by what it feeds upon.

The waste of time by the Senate, for which it has been subjected to severe censure, is wholly due to its archaic code of procedure. Hours are consumed in wrangling over trivial matters, and discussion travels over the universe in the effort to talk as much and say as little as possible. The standards of Senatorial debate are thus necessarily lowered, and its influence wanes as the bulk of the *Congressional Record* increases. But if this were the sole or the most important consequence, it might be endured. The very serious and deplorable result of needless and cruel consumption of time is that many measures of real importance are crowded into the end of the calendar and must be rushed to completion during the closing hours of the session, or be abandoned altogether. The great supply bills, for example, saddled with riders covering remote projects or sinister interests, and

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carrying hundreds of millions in appropriations, can in the very nature of things receive but scant consideration, and must become laws, if they are to be enacted at all, with these shameful burdens upon them. Extravagance is the inevitable consequence. Economic administration is impossible, and ill-digested legislation the rule in national affairs.

Intimately related to this phase of the subject is the vastly expanded orbit of federal authority, as reflected in Congressional activities and the consequent increasing demands upon its time. The people are looking more and more to Washington and less and less to their state and municipal governments, as the agency for the conduct of their affairs and as the fountain of relief from all their difficulties. And the National Government is responding with alacrity. Hence the Congressional calendar has become a thing of appalling dimensions, while the bills "passing through the hopper" constitute an endless procession. In the Senate, 7,996, and in the House, 22,057 bills and joint resolutions, or a total of 30,053, were introduced during the Sixty-third Congress, of which 417 public and 283 private laws and resolutions were enacted; a total of 700 in all. The enumeration does not include 1,426 concurrent and simple resolutions. It is safe to assume that ten per cent. of this vast output, or 3,000 bills and resolutions, are meritorious, and that all of them are entitled to the decent consideration of the committees to which they are referred. But since the life of a Congress is but 730 days, it is obvious that, with every moment of its time devoted to the public business, the intelligent and careful disposition of even 3,000 bills is well nigh impossible. And that task is made to seem ridiculous—if it were not tragic—when subjected to a system of procedure under which the entire time of the Senate can be exhausted by the consideration of a single bill, or even of a motion to amend its rules, and when the session expires before a final vote can be taken upon it. A system falling under such an indictment is too vicious to endure.

The work of the Sixty-third Congress was unusually comprehensive, yet all that it did might have been accomplished in six months. Many matters of the greatest importance, which might easily have been disposed of, were necessarily postponed to a later time, and thus compelled to take their chances with others of perhaps greater moment arising from future developments. And the cost to the people of these

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diffusive and wearisome discussions, intended for everything except information, is very great. Eight thousand dollars per day of eight hours is a moderate estimate of the sum which the people pay for the luxury of a Senate, any of whose members can, if so disposed, talk for days without thinking at all.

The right of unlimited debate is an anachronism in modern parliamentary procedure. It survives only in the Canadian House of Commons and in the Senate of the United States. All other legislative bodies have eliminated it from their rules and practice. It has always been subject to abuse. "The dignity, the credit, and the authority of this House are seriously threatened, and they should be vindicated," said Speaker Brand in the English Commons in 1880, when the obstruction of the Parnellites forced the reluctant hand of that body, which then restricted liberty of discussion so far as to make government by the majority possible. The hour has come when the Senate must adapt its rules to the needs of the time and in harmony with justice, or the people will express themselves upon the subject in tones loud enough for the deafest reactionary to hear and understand.

Nor can the majority justly plead its own helplessness under the incubus of rules which are immune to change. In THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, 1893, Senator Lodge justly charged the majority with responsibility for the filibuster then going on. "No minority," said he, "is ever to blame for obstruction. If the rules permit them to obstruct, they are lawfully entitled to use those rules in order to stop a measure which they deem injurious. The blame for obstruction rests with the majority, and, if there is obstruction, it is because the majority permit it. . . . They, and they alone, can secure action and initiate proceedings to bring the body whose machinery they control to a vote." And the Senator also said that "no extreme or violent change is needed in order to remedy the existing condition of affairs. A simple rule giving the majority power to fix a time for taking a vote upon any measure which has been before the Senate and under discussion, say for thirty days, would be all-sufficient. Such a change should be made and such a rule passed, for the majority ought to have and must have full power and responsibility."

At the written request of forty-two Democratic Senators, the majority leader on the first of March last named a com-

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mittee to prepare and report a plan to the next Senate placing reasonable limits upon Senatorial debate. That committee will discharge its duty, and the next Senate, if I mistake not, will take decisive action on the subject. It may be able to accomplish nothing else, but it will certainly endeavor to do that. The American Senate cannot, in justice to the people or to itself, continue to give shelter and asylum to an archaic and vicious system of procedure which enthrones the minority, is a menace to every scheme of progress, and the buttress of every entrenched abuse.

Opportunity for legitimate debate will not be impaired by any contemplated change—that would be going to an equally dangerous extreme. Senate cloture will be entirely consistent with the right of full discussion. But the majority must be clothed with the power to control parliamentary procedure and enforce the right to vote upon its bills and resolutions, or fail in its duty to itself and to the people. This is, as we have been told so often, an age of efficiency. Parliamentary opposition should mean voting against a bill. In the Senate, as in the House, "mere inertia must cease to be a match for ballots and brains."

CHARLES S. THOMAS.

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THE POETRY OF RUPERT BROOKE

BY ST. JOHN G. ERVINE

When I remember Rupert Brooke as I first saw him, and as I last saw him, and look at his portrait, I cannot believe that he is dead. It seems to me to be incredible that so much beauty, his physical appearance and his power to create spiritual loveliness, should have been destroyed in the very hour of blooming, at the moment when he was passing swiftly from youthful wit and cleverness to a man's maturity of feeling. "The heart of another is a dark forest," says Anton Tchekhov in one of his stories of Russian life; so perhaps there is completion where men with small or broken vision see only a beginning or an attempt, and it may be that Rupert Brooke had made a full circle when he died of sunstroke in the Dardanelles; but no one can read the five sonnets which he wrote just before his death and not feel that had he lived he would have made wider circles still.

Some of the poems which are printed in Brooke's last volume, notably that one which is called "Heaven," are the expression of a fine, but not completely formed mind; they are witty and very clever, and are clearly the outcome of considerable culture, but they do not convince the reader that their author had felt very deeply, or endured more than the small irritations that afflict the life of a comfortable and imaginative youth. There is a note of petulant bravado in the love poems which shows that, although there were wounds, there was also quick healing,—that the hurt to his vanity was greater than the hurt to his heart; and the reader feels that instead of exhibiting his wound, he is showing how little he cares:

> Your hands, my dear, adorable,
> Your lips of tenderness—
> Oh, I've loved you faithfully and well,
> Three years, or a bit less.
> It wasn't a success.

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Thank God, that's done! and I'll take the road,
Quit of my youth and you,
The Roman road to Wendover
By Tring and Lilley Hoo,
As a free man may do.

* * * * * *

I shall desire and I shall find
The best of my desires;
The Autumn road, the mellow wind
That soothes the darkening shires,
And laughter, and inn-fires.

White mist about the black hedgerows,
The slumbering Midland plain,
The silence where the clover grows,
And the dead leaves in the lane,
Certainly, these remain.

And I shall find some girl, perhaps,
And a better one than you,
With eyes as wise, but kindlier,
And lips as soft, but true.
And I daresay she will do.

There is beauty in those verses, and extraordinary deftness, but there is also a calculated harshness and a deliberately wrought roughness which make the reader doubt the poet's claim to be "quit of my youth," even if he were quit of "you." Some contemporary poets, influenced by Masefield, have intentionally interpolated uncouth lines into their verses, hoping that by the sudden jolt of a jarring rhythm they may create, not merely a contrast, but a renewal of a mood. The smooth flow of melodious verse that came from Tennyson, that comes to-day from Mr. Alfred Noyes, makes the mind sleepy after a while. The reader tires, too, of the seemliness of these placid poets whose doubts, when they have any, are the doubts of dons and nicely-mannered men. Tennyson's peasants are always ready to touch their caps or pull their forelocks, and Mr. Noyes's roystering adventurers are not nearly so raw as they say they are—one feels that they have never steered a ship through a storm, that they have never had to tighten their belts to lessen their hunger, and that their oaths were learned from books. There was design in Rupert Brooke's uncouth verses. He wrote:

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Oh, I've loved you faithfully and well,
Three years, or a bit less.
It wasn't a success—

with the strict intention of scarifying and irritating the professors and the academicians. One almost imagines him, as he writes these lines, forgetting that his love was unkind to him, and chuckling as he thinks of the shock that Professor Saintsbury will have when he reads:

. . . or a bit less.
It wasn't a success.

or:

Certainly, these remain.

or:

And I daresay she will do.

These verses are clever, but they are only clever. They contain some of the bright boy's disregard of tradition. They are in harmony with the general discontent with established forms and institutions which became so perceptible in all artistic endeavor during the five years immediately preceding the European Disaster. Youth, restive under the clumsy compulsion of Age, suddenly refused to yield any further obedience to its elders. Youth had learned that the old man's advice, "Wait until you are old enough to know better," invariably resulted in a race of grey-beards who were too cowardly to know better; and so, in those five years, troops of young painters, poets, sculptors, novelists, and composers tramped through Europe, cursing conventions and belittling the accumulated beauty of centuries. Signor Marinetti blew squeaky trumpets in the Catacombs and incited his followers to explode Chinese crackers in the Colosseum. The older artists, disconcerted by this sudden irruption of violent youths, fell to mockery and then to alarmed rage. In all the domains of Art, there were continual processions of strange artists, all violent, all incoherent, all ruthless, and all angry, so that the spectators became dizzy with amazement and dubious of the world's sanity.

How far Rupert Brooke's deliberately wrought harshness was part of that world-movement toward brutality and primitive impressions, and how far it was part of a peculiar personal feeling, it is difficult to say. He was influenced to some extent by Strindberg, and I once heard him speak of women in the Strindbergian manner; but it never occurred to me that that was any more than a passing mood. He had,

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I think, a great regard for Masefield's poetry, and the only play he ever wrote, a prose piece in one act, was moulded in the Masefield shape. But neither of these writers had any permanent control over him. The bulk of his verse, odd as it may seem in view of his reaction from the Tennysonian melody, resembles Tennyson's poetry. It has the same shapeliness, the same flow of musical words, and I do not doubt that, had he lived, Brooke would have abandoned the revolutionaries and made his peace with the ages.

He was a man of exceptional appearance. The word "beautiful" has, through the efforts of romantic writers, become almost exclusively a word that is reserved for the description of women, and it gives a disagreeable impression of effeminacy when it is applied to men. There was nothing of an effeminate character about Rupert Brooke, but he was undoubtedly beautiful. I remember one night, when I was returning to my home in a London suburb, Brooke came into the carriage of the "Underground" in which I was sitting. It was full of tired, pale men and women, lying in the loose attitudes that are adopted by people who are too fatigued to be particular of their appearance in public. The unshaded electric lamps made a harsh glare on every face and gave it a drawn, grey look. . . . Rupert Brooke suddenly came into that carriage like a wind from heaven.

Those who did not know him might have imagined, after reading the poems in which he mocked the body and jeered at physical beauty, that he was a hideous dwarf, profaning fine things out of envy and bitter spite. In one of his earlier poems he describes Helen of Troy in a possible old age, a toothless, nagging, bleary hag, and in the same book there is a poem on seasickness that might turn a queasy stomach. Brooke seemed to hate his fine looks, not because he was indifferent to beauty, but because it might so easily become a snare for his soul. And so, in his poetry, he denounced the flesh with greater violence than John the Baptist, and, in his life, he took care not to stay too long in places where flatterers are. Once he told me with what pleasure he quitted London and went to Grantchester, the little village outside Cambridge where he spent much of his time. I sometimes think that he was happy in Grantchester because he could be free there from passionate distractions.

But all these poems, those that are clever and witty and those that are full of revulsion from physical beauty, were

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part of a mood that had no permanence. I remember talking of him one evening to Mr. Yeats, who said that if Brooke could rid his poetry of a certain "languid sensualness," he would probably become a very great poet. I repeated this statement to Brooke in a letter, and I remember that, when he met me soon afterwards, he told me that he had made up his mind to leave England for a year or two. He intended, he said, to travel for a few weeks in the Eastern States of America, and then he would cross the continent to California and stay there for a long while, because California is such a beautiful country. "And then I shall go to the South Sea Islands!"

In the first months of 1914 he was at Samoa, and here he wrote some of his finest poems. In one of them, written at Mataiea, called *The Great Lover*, he reveals himself very clearly. Most of his poems were intimate revelations of his own personality, but in *The Great Lover* the sensuousness of his nature was made perfectly plain:

> I have been a great lover: filled my days
> So proudly with the splendor of Love's Praise,

and then he describes the things he has loved:

> These I have loved:
> White plates and cups, clean-gleaming,
> Ringed with blue lines; and feathery, faery dust;
> Wet roofs, beneath the lamp-light; the strong crust
> Of friendly bread; and many tasting food;
> Rainbows; and the blue bitter smoke of wood;
> And radiant raindrops couching in cool flowers;
> And flowers themselves, that sway through many hours,
> Dreaming of moths that drink them under the moon;
> Then, the cool kindliness of sheets. . . .
>
> * * * * * *
>
> The benison of hot water; furs to touch;
> The good smell of old clothes; and other such—
> The comfortable smell of friendly fingers,
> Hair's fragrance, and the musty reek that lingers
> About dead leaves and last year's ferns. . . .
> Dear names,
> And thousand others, throng to me! Royal flames;
> Sweet water's dimpling laugh from tap or spring;
> Holes in the ground; and voices that do sing;
> Voices in laughter, too; and body's pain,
> Soon turned to peace; and the deep-panting train;

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Firm sands; the little dulling edge of foam
That browns and dwindles as the wave goes home;
And washen stones, gay for an hour; the cold
Graveness of iron; moist black earthen mould;
Sleep; and high places; footprints in the dew;
And oaks; and brown horse-chestnuts, glossy-new;
And new-peeled sticks; and shining pools on grass;—
All these have been my loves. . . .

It is very notable that there is no reference to love of women in this confession of affections, but that omission might have been due to the fact that he had either become too proud to speak of this love again, or he had ceased to be affected by it. What is more interesting to his friends than the omission of women from his list of loves, is the omission of any purely intellectual love. His list does not contain anything that an uninstructed man could not love as ardently as he loved it. A ploughman, incapable of reading or writing, could "make his mark" at the foot of Rupert Brooke's confession in complete sincerity. He may have loved books and pictures and poems and music and sculpture and scholarship, but his love for these things was clearly less than his love for "the strong crust of friendly bread; and many tasting food." I never knew what his intellectual pleasures were. He never spoke of books or pictures, and he may have disliked music as heartily as Mr. Yeats dislikes it. It may be that he was as indifferent to these things as Synge was, and that he was purely a poet of the senses, of things felt and experienced rather than of things thought and perceived. It has sometimes seemed to me that the difference between Doestoievsky and Turgenieff is that the former understood because he had endured, and the latter understood because he had felt. Rupert Brooke belonged to the order of Turgenieff. He loved natural things rather than mental things, and pleasure rather than pain. Pain, it is true, is one of his loves, but only pain "soon turned to peace."

While he was in Samoa, there was a great accretion of power perceptible in what he wrote; and in a "Sonnet (suggested by some of the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research)" the transition from boyish wit and cleverness to a man's depth of purpose and understanding is clearly seen. There is wit in this sonnet, but with it there is also growing experience and kindling knowledge:

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Not with vain tears, when we're beyond the sun,
We'll beat on the substantial doors, nor tread
Those dusty highroads of the aimless dead,
Plaintive for earth; but rather turn and run
Down some close-covered by-way of the air,
Some low sweet valley between wind and wind,
Stoop under faint gleams, thread the shadows, find
Some whispering ghost-forgotten nook, and there

Spend in pure converse our eternal day;
Think each in each, immediately wise;
Learn all we lacked before; hear, know, and say
What this tumultuous body now denies;
And feel, who have laid our groping hands away;
And see, no longer blinded by our eyes.

I was with him on the evening before he went to America, and I never saw him again. At intervals, he sent short notes, and sometimes I saw a poem of his or a descriptive article in a magazine; and I heard of the project that he and his friends, Lascelles Abercrombie, Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, and John Drinkwater, had made to publish their poems in quarterly volumes under the general title of *New Numbers*. I was not in London when he returned to England, but we made plans to meet. Then the war began, and his friend, Winston Churchill, obtained a commission for him in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, and we heard that he had taken part in the hurried and abortive defense of Antwerp. Thereafter, he was in training for a time, and then we were told that he had gone to the Dardanelles.

In the meantime, a volume of *New Numbers* was published, containing the five sonnets written in war time. The extraordinary beauty of these five poems compelled the respect of the most transient mind. Many war poems had been printed in England at and after the beginning of the Disaster: some of them were good, some of them were even notable, but the bulk of them were of incredible badness. Good or bad, none of them had the perfect spirit of Brooke's sonnets. Here were fulfillment and renunciation and immovable resolve. We, here in England, read Lissauer's *Hymn of Hate,* with mingled feelings of astonishment and pity. The *Hymn of Hate* is a powerful poem, but it is powerful in the way that a foul smell is powerful. One turned from that strange expression of an empire's mood to the five sonnets that were written by Rupert Brooke with the

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same feeling of thanksgiving with which a man emerges from a gloomy cavern into warm sunlight. There is no hate in these sonnets, no damning of the enemy to everlasting hell, no arrogant demand that God shall do this or that . . . but a fine acceptance of destined things, and simple thankfulness that the hour had not found him unready.

The fifth sonnet has been widely read because its publication was so speedily followed by the death of its author, but its beauty is not dependent on that tragic fortuity. It is a thing of exquisite feeling, made out of the life of a young man to whom the gods had been very generous; and so long as men love their lands, this poem will move them:

> If I should die, think only this of me:
> That there's a corner of a foreign field
> That is for ever England. There shall be
> In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
> A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
> Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
> A body of England's, breathing English air,
> Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.
>
> And think, this heart, all evil shed away,
> A pulse in the eternal mind, no less
> Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;
> Her sights and sounds, dreams happy as her day;
> And laughter learnt of friends; and gentleness,
> In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.

Rupert Brooke loved England as ardently as Thomas Davis loved Ireland and Garibaldi loved Italy and Dostoievsky loved Russia. Even while he was feeling his way toward firm faiths, this love was strong in him, and the wayward irreverence of rebel youths could not seduce him from it.

I have already quoted *The Soldier*, with its memorable, rich beginning; but the other sonnets are no less noble; indeed, the fourth, called *The Dead*, is even finer than the fifth:

> These hearts were woven of human joys and cares,
> Washed marvellously with sorrow, swift to mirth.
> The years had given them kindness. Dawn was theirs,
> And sunset, and the colors of the earth.
> These had seen movement, and heard music; known
> Slumber and waking; loved; gone proudly friended;
> Felt the quick pulse of wonder; sat alone;
> Touched flowers and furs and cheeks. All this is ended.

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There are waters blown by changing winds to laughter
And lit by the rich skies all day. And after
Frost, with a gesture, stays the waves that dance
And wandering loveliness. He leaves a white
Unbroken glory, a gathered radiance,
A width, a shining peace, under the night.

In that poem, and in *Peace* and *The Dead,* there is high majesty and completion, and a self-revelation that is also a self-realization.

He was twenty-seven years of age when he died of sunstroke in the Ægean. He was taken from the hospital ship at midnight and buried by the light of torches.

I do not suppose he had thought much about the causes of the war. Politics made very little appeal to him, although, like most generous-minded young men, he was a Socialist. These matters were no affair of his. England was at war, and so he must arm himself. It is said that he had a premonition of his death, and that he went to the Ægean in the knowledge that he would not return. That may be so, for poets have eyes that see and ears that hear; but his knowledge did not diminish the pride of his bearing. He made his end in serenity and proud submission.

Blow out, you bugles, over the rich dead!
There's none of these so lonely and poor of old,
But, dying, had made us rarer gifts than gold.
These laid the world away; poured out the red
Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be
Of work and joy, and that unhoped serene
That men call age; and those who would have been
Their sons, they gave, their immortality.

Blow, bugles, blow! They brought us for our dearth,
Holiness, lacked so long, and Love, and Pain.
Honor has come back as a king, to earth,
And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
And Nobleness walks in our ways again;
And we have come into our heritage.

ST. JOHN G. ERVINE.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

"SARTOR RESARTUS" UP TO DATE[1]

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

If the Great War had not got on the nerves of Mr. H. G. Wells, he would not have written *Boon;* and we should have been deprived of the most brilliant and engrossing and savage piece of satirical writing since *Sartor Resartus.*

It is apparently Mr. Wells' little jest that he is not the author of *Boon,* and his publishers have abetted him in this amiable but rather foolish game of literary mystification. The book is solemnly "copyright by Reginald Bliss," and the publishers' Guide to Reviewers—set forth, with the subtle cunning peculiar to publishers, on the cover—tells us that "the authorship of the book is a mystery whose solution is likely to be a sensation." Whether this profession of anonymity is a jest is not quite clear. Certainly there is no real "mystery" about the matter at all. Nor, seemingly, does Mr. Wells attempt to make one of it in his semi-jocose introduction, wherein he speaks of "the pressure of a certain inseparable intimacy between Mr. Reginald Bliss and myself," and of his having "a kind of first-hand knowledge of [the book's] contents." He goes on to hope that the reader—by which he means, he says, the reviewer—"will be able to see the reasonableness and the necessity of distinguishing between me and Mr. Reginald Bliss." Bliss is Bliss, he insists, "and Wells is Wells. And Bliss can write all sorts of things that Wells could not do."

Undoubtedly! and an excellent jest *that* is! For, under his semi-serious guise of anonymity, Mr. Wells has run amuck through the crowded and already sufficiently turbulent highways of the contemporary world, and has bowled over very nearly everybody in sight, abroad and at home, from

[1] *Boon, The Mind of the Race, The Wild Asses of the Devil, and The Last Trump.* By Reginald Bliss. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1915.

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the Kaiser and Lord Morley and Lord Haldane and Mr. Henry James and Mr. Bernard Shaw and the militarists and the American public to Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Scarcely a head escapes, if it is at all in view; and even being dead does not save you from the joyous ferocity of Mr. Wells, for he takes a whack at Homer and Goethe, Schopenhauer and Mr. Gladstone. The great and the almost-great are impartially tumbled over in the *mêlée;* and even the supremely respectable fall a prey to the general frightfulness: as witness, in the section called "The Natural History of Greatness," his notes on the career of the blameless and admirable Mrs. Humphrey Ward—"the last of the British Victorian Great"—in which we are assured that "the rumor that she is represented as a sea goddess at the base of the Queen Victoria Memorial is unfounded"; and the description of Mr. Gladstone's arrival in Hell, greeted by cries of "Speech! Speech!" . . . eliciting "the first delicious promise of a Home Rule movement which should break the last feeble links of Celestial Control." Nor is any one too slightly conspicuous to hope for clemency at the hands of the bloodthirsty Mr. Wells—as you can see by observing the dreadful immortalization that has befallen an unfortunate gentleman named Osborn, who apparently writes pieces for the London *Morning Post.*

No—it is quite clear that Mr. Wells could not decently have issued a formal confession of authorship to this book, and one supposes that the gesture of deprecation was necessary. But it is not, after all, a particularly able joke that he and his publishers have sprung; for that Mr. Wells could escape, in any reasonably intelligent quarter, the indisputable responsibility for *Boon* is hardly credible. However, to set at rest the mind of any reader—or reviewer—who may be tempted to accommodate the desire of Mr. Wells that he "see the reasonableness of distinguishing between me and Mr. Reginald Bliss," and to play upon our author a jest that is doubtless as poor a one as his own, we hereby unqualifiedly affirm that we *know* Mr. Wells to be the author of *Boon.*

Whereupon, having duly succumbed to whatever joke may be implicit in this amiable author-publisher hoax, we can proceed to regard a little more directly the remarkable production which inspired it.

Once upon a time a well-beloved romancer—it may have

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been Mr. Robert W. Chambers—wrote a tale about a beautiful artist's model (she was, incidentally, a perfect lady) who, about to enter, after a period of prolonged deliberation, into a state of concubinage with a gentleman friend, was wont to refer to the coming experience as "the Great Change." (We are almost, but not quite, sure of the capital initials.) Now, *Boon* is the story of Mr. Wells' mind, wrought upon by a Great Change of a different sort—of a mind made sick and a little mad (but mad only north-northwest) by the Great Catastrophe. It could never have been written but by Mr. Wells. It could never have been written save for the War. It is a bitter and a terrible and a merciless book, and yet there is at its heart a noble exaltation. It is jeering, mocking, impious, trivial, peevish; and it is a masterpiece of philosophical satire. The *Boon* of the title —George Boon—was the deceased friend of Mr. Bliss-Wells, and this is a sheaf of quotations, comments, allusions—unconscionably discursive, fragmentary and fantastic—relating to the hypothetical gentleman's literary remains. And Boon, of course, is Mr. Wells' mouthpiece, through whom are uttered his ideas concerning all things that occupy the thoughts of contemporary man. The book is a medley, an intellectual *revue,* a literary Luna Park, in which you bump-the-bumps or dizzily shoot-the-chutes over and down and up and across Mr. Wells' convictions about authors and politics and economics and biology and history and philosophy. You are invited to study three unfinished productions of the late Boon—*The Mind of the Race, The Wild Asses of the Devil,* and *The Last Trump,* all diligently assembled and annotated and "prepared for publication" by Mr. Bliss. The book is, as the accomplished Bliss observes, "an obituary of more than George Boon." For Boon died with his age. And what Mr. Wells has given us is, in some sort, a memorial to a dead age: to the dead past of the world—a critical phantasmagoria in which we see, as in sleep-chasings, the men and things and ideas of that incredible *ante-bellum* time that now seems almost as if it had never been.

The book is a welter of contemporaneity, appallingly specific in its allusions—allusions that are often contemptuous, or, at best, furtively satirical; as, for example, a marvelous scene between Mr. Henry James and Mr. George Moore (a triumph of delicate and dreadful wit which it would be hard to match in English letters), who appear at a

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world-conference upon the momentous subject of "The Mind of the Race," attended, among many others, by Mr. Gosse, Mr. William Archer, Mr. Yeats, Mr. James and Mr. Moore, and emissaries of Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Hearst. The two distinguished novelists talk with complete verisimilitude, and together, neither paying the slightest heed to the other; so that while Mr. James is observing: "Owing it as we do, very, very largely to our friend Gosse, to that peculiar, that honest but restless and, as it were, at times almost malignantly ambitious organizing energy of our friend, I cannot altogether—altogether, even if in any case I should have taken so extreme, so devastatingly isolating a step as, to put it violently, *stand out;* yet I must confess to a considerable anxiety, a kind of distress, an apprehension, the terror, so to speak——" at the same moment Mr. Moore is saying meditatively to himself: "Little, exquisite shoulders without a touch of color and with just that suggestion of rare old ivory in an old shop-window in some out-of-the-way corner of Paris that only the most patient abstinence from baths and the brutality of soaping——." Surely mockery could be no more exquisite than this! And the book is full of such delectable things—as the no less perfect scene in the special train which is taking the conferees to a subsequent congress at Bâle upon the absorbing topic of "The Mind of the Race": a journey during which Mr. Bernard Shaw insists upon thrusting himself into the center of activities garbed in hand-painted pajamas, while Mr. Upton Sinclair, "having carried out his ideal of an innocent frankness to a logical completeness in his traveling equipment," is forcibly wrapped in blankets by the train officials—a journey made memorable also by the presence of a horse-van at the end containing Mr. Maurice Hewlett's charger, and "a large, quiet sheep, the inseparable pet of Mr. Arthur Christopher Benson." Wherefrom it will be seen that Mr. Wells is not without the gift of malice.

The book is Carlyle in a gayer key. It is *Sartor Resartus* crossed by *Alice in Wonderland,* with Mr. Max Beerbohm hovering nearby and interjecting outrageous intellectual blasphemies. It is ferocious and unsparing, but it is far from being inexpensively cynical. It is, justly considered, a corrective. It has aspiration, and it has vision. The black stream of consequences that must come from the War will flow, as Mr. Wells sees, for centuries; but "all this multitudinous

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individual unhappiness is still compatible with a great progressive movement in the general mind. . . . Horrible possibilities have to be realized, and they can be realized only by experience; complacencies, fatuities have to be destroyed; we have to learn and relearn what Boon once called 'the bitter need of honesty.' We must see these things from the standpoint of the Race Life, whose days are hundreds of years." And there is the great task of literature: "the great task of becoming the thought and the expressed intention of the race, the task of taming violence, organizing the aimless, destroying error, the task of waylaying the Wild Asses of the Devil and sending them back to Hell. . . . And we have to do it, because we know, in spite of the darkness, the wickedness, the haste and hate,—we know in our hearts . . . that judgment is all about us and God stands close at hand."

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

WHAT IS BACK OF THE WAR. By Albert J. Beveridge. Indianapolis; The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

If any book about the Great War may be said to make thoroughly enjoyable reading, this description is applicable to Senator Beveridge's account of his experiences and observations on two of the fighting fronts and in three of the warring countries during the Winter and Spring just past. The author talked with the common soldiers and officers in the trenches; he interviewed prisoners in the German camps, interned Belgian soldiers in Holland, French peasants living in the territory subject to German military rule. In addition, he had frank conversations with many notable men representing various vocations and viewpoints, in Germany, in France, and in England.

It is not the tragic and horrifying reaction—or afterthought—of battle that Senator Beveridge makes us feel. He brings us probably much closer to the reality by revealing the matter-of-fact, cheerful side of the deadly struggle—the good physical condition of the men rather than "the misery of the trenches," the everyday gallantry of the combatants, rather than the soul-shaking inferno of shot and shell as it presents itself to the imaginations of the more tender-minded. Told in a style of easy conversational eloquence, his narrative draws one into the spirit of the game, makes one feel the fascination and impressiveness of smoothly working efficiency, the "tang of the unusual and perilous," the quasi-spiritual exaltation of perfect solidarity and determination—an exaltation that calms and steadies, and that is not incompatible with unheroic comfort and with occasional humor. Even the wounded returning from the front seem less pitiable than imagination paints them. These same wounded, in the hospitals, are usually anxious to return to the firing line; so are the prisoners; so are the soldiers who have been for a day or two off duty. In short, human nature is great enough to support even the horrors of Armageddon without losing its poise or its admirable commonplaceness.

If the book is psychologically true to human nature, it is also obviously truthful and just in the views it gives of the conduct and character of the combatants. We read of the interned Belgian soldiers as being, from the point of view of the hard-headed though not unsympathetic Hollanders, rather an ungrateful and trouble-

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some lot—men more concerned about their daily fare and the privileges accorded them than about the fate of their country. We have indisputable testimony to the good relations prevailing between the inhabitants of conquered French territory and the German conquerors, and to the personally friendly sentiments that exist in German prison camps between German captors and captured Frenchmen or Russians. Even the English in these camps say that they have little to complain of.

Objectively, the story is extraordinarily vivid; it is compact and fluent in its marshalling of sharp visual impressions and of glimpses of men in action which convey the stir and tension of the battlefield. Bits of casual but significant conversation alternate with the detonations of shells. The author saw and heard a great deal. He was in the German lines opposed to the French near Lille, and in the lines opposed to the English at Comines on the road to Ypres. In the East he witnessed a part of the "battle of Bohmoff"—a battle as large as many of the biggest conflicts in our Civil War, which was fought some forty miles from Lodz.

Those parts of Senator Beveridge's book in which he sounds the public opinion of Germany, England, and France, are not less interesting than his battle pictures. The author found in Germany an even greater degree of cheerful confidence and determination than Americans have believed to obtain there; in France, an equal determination combined with greater nervous tension; in England, practically unanimous support of the Government, but a rather discouraging diversity of opinion, comparative unconcern, and a somewhat general dubiety as to what the war is all about. More specific views are given in conversational detail. Among the German notables with whom Senator Beveridge talked are the Kaiser, Admiral von Tirpitz, General von Hindenburg, the theologian, von Harnack, and many others. In France he interviewed such men as Gabriel Hanotaux, Hervé, Bergson; besides these, a prominent peace advocate and a leading statesman, whose names are suppressed. In England he conferred with "one of the foremost statesmen," with Lord Bryce, with Lord Newton, described as "a typical conservative British peer," with Charles Trevelyan, "the foe of secret diplomacy," with Sir Gilbert Parker, and with Bernard Shaw. Most interesting is his account of that phase of British opinion which deplores the manner in which the nation was "led blindfold up to the guns," and of that which regards the violation of Belgium's neutrality as a mere side-issue. It may be added that the views of economists and business men in each country are of even more significance than those of statesmen and philosophers.

Senator Beveridge's interviews with all these men of weight and authority are remarkable for dramatic and human interest. The Kaiser, for instance, is described with the view of bringing him familiarly to the understanding of the American mind, and the

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sketch of him is "put in terms of Americanism just as if describing an American public man." All the conversations reported have the tone of frankness and the interest of the impromptu spoken word.

To those who love eye-witness and ear-witness reports, *What is Back of the War* will furnish a feast; it is emphatically a book to read if one wishes to get a lively and intelligent impression of the European scene in war time. Perhaps the most interesting chapter, however, is that which is devoted to probabilities. In brief, Senator Beveridge is convinced that the war is everywhere strengthening the forces of democratic collectivism—that its final outcome will be a more or less thorough reorganization of European life upon this basis.

ANIMAL EXPERIMENTATION AND MEDICAL PROGRESS. By William Williams Keen, M.D., LL.D. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

The reader who is not an antivivisectionist can scarcely peruse Dr. Keen's succinct and informing account of medical progress during the last five decades without wondering that the author should have been forced into a controversial attitude by the attacks of furious sentimentalists. That there is need of protest, however, against that perversion of humane feeling which would sacrifice the whole to minor parts, is amply attested. Dr. Keen's references to antivivisection documents and his careful analyses of some of them seem to show on the part of certain opponents of animal experimentation a determined, unreasoning hostility which uses logic, rather blindly, as a weapon of offense, but falls back ultimately upon the appeal to feeling. Nothing can justify vivisection—that is the final attitude of one group of extremists. The others are logically constrained either to deny in large part the value of serum-therapy and other results of medical research—most of which have been achieved through animal experimentation—or to propose the shockingly cruel alternative of experiment upon human beings.

Those who deny or minimize the value of modern surgical progress are prone to overlook certain important facts, and, indeed, the ordinary reader, it may be suspected, has but an inadequate notion of the rôle which animal experimentation has played in saving human life. Serum-therapy tells less than half of the story. It is true that the progressive introduction of the antiseptic system was practically "one vast experiment in the human living body." This experiment, as all the world knows, was justified by its results. To us, nowadays, it may seem that Lister in experimenting with antiseptics upon a living human being ran no risk. Every departure, however, from accepted practise is a risk, and had the results been unfavorable the world might well have regretted that Lister was not permitted to try his first experiments in antiseptic surgery upon animals. Later,

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when he was seeking for a form of ligature that would not produce suppuration—as the silk thread then in use nearly always did—he actually made use of animals in his initial experiments. Thus, so elementary a matter of surgical knowledge as the proper way of tying an artery was acquired through animal experimentation—and the wholly successful issue of the attempt should blind no one to the fact that to make the first trial upon a human being would have been to take an unjustifiable risk.

An especially helpful class of experiments upon living animals are those which have enabled surgeons to localize approximately the functions of the brain. The case of Midshipman Aiken, as related by Dr. Keen, is instructive. This young man, as the result of an injury received in a football game, developed violent convulsions, first in the right leg, afterwards in the right arm also—the arm being finally the seat of the convulsions. The only physical indication of any injury was a very slight bruise at the outer end of the left eyebrow. "Had I seen this case before 1885," writes Dr. Keen, "I should have been unable to explain why the spasms were chiefly manifested in the right arm, and from the evidence of the slow pulse, the headache, the stupor, the bruise in the left temple, I should have been justified in inferring that probably the front part of the brain was injured at the site of the bruise. Had I opened the skull at that point, I should have found a perfectly normal brain and should have missed the clot. The young man, therefore, would have died, whether his skull had been opened or not." But in 1902, the year in which Midshipman Aiken was injured, the location of the "arm-center" in the brain—the center affected in this case, as the convulsions of the patient's arm plainly showed—had been precisely determined as a result of humanely conducted experiments upon living animals. Precisely under the spot in the skull thus indicated was found the expected clot of blood. This removed, the patient promptly recovered. He resumed his work in the Naval Academy, studied hard, graduated with his class, and entered the navy. This and a number of similar cases should effectively dispose of the contention that nothing of value concerning the human body can be learned from experiments upon animals.

But in point of fact, nearly every important innovation in surgery throughout the last fifty years has been proved safe and practicable through preliminary experiments upon animals. The list includes operations upon the stomach, the kidneys, the liver, the lungs, and many other feats of surgical skill by which human life has been repeatedly saved, though all were at one time thought impossible. The triumphs of modern surgery as narrated by Dr. Keen make an inspiring story, and the truth as to the manner in which the notable advances of recent years have been achieved should be better known than it is.

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RUSSIA AND THE GREAT WAR. By Gregor Alexinsky. Translated by Bernard Uiall. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

Although Senator Beveridge, in *What Is Back of the War,* expressly excludes Russia from his consideration, upon the ground of insufficient knowledge, M. Gregor Alexinsky in his book, *Russia and the Great War,* sets forth anticipations that are altogether similar. In M. Alexinsky's book, one will find no sweeping justification of Russian aims and policies—no series of contentions regarding economic interests and political necessities such as might be placed in a parallel column with the German claims and compared with them. The author, indeed, is patriotic, but his hatred of "Tsarism" is quite as strong as his hostility to Germany. Written from the point of view of a liberal politician, rather than that of a member of the Government or a diplomat, the treatise is interesting as revealing the views of what is presumably a considerable part of the Russian people—views unchanged by the war.

Germany, to be sure, M. Alexinsky regards as the aggressor. In an economic sense Russia was in danger of becoming merely a German colony. Taking advantage of Russia's unfortunate situation during the war with Japan, Germany secured from her Eastern neighbor a customs treaty very favorable to her own interests. The extremely high duties imposed by the treaty of 1904 upon Russian agricultural products imported into Germany protected the German Junkers from the competition of Russian wheat-growers and forced the latter to lower the prices of their products in order to sell them in Germany. The compensatory increase of Russian duties upon German imports did harm rather than good, bearing heavily, as they did, upon the agriculturists, who needed machinery, and upon the industries, which required technical equipment. At the same time the unprecedented development of Germany's military power, her frequent and sometimes successful attempts to intimidate other nations, her growing influence in Turkey, constituted a menace—a menace which inevitably threw France into the arms of Tsarism and drew England into the Triple Entente. Naturally enough, too, Russia was concerned over Austrian and German interference in the Balkans. "Her economic and political situation on the shores of the Black Sea might become absolutely unsupportable and untenable in the event of the Balkans and Constantinople being conquered by Germany and Austria."

Despite these weighty considerations Russia—even official Russia—did not want the war. The people, as a matter of course, did not wish for a war of aggression; they never do. Even the Government showed in a number of ways its eagerness to avoid hostilities. It displayed a conciliatory spirit by making many political concessions, and by a "military recoil" so marked that it was interpreted in France as a kind of infidelity to the Entente. An uneasy fear of

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Germany in high quarters manifestly led to a pacific policy. Finally, "Germany has always been represented by the Russian reaction as the surest friend of the autocratic régime in Russia." Indeed, even during the war, the propaganda in favor of Germany as an absolutist nation has been carried on in almost incredible fashion.

In 1914, then, there was in Russia no considerable group which wanted war; and, whatever the selfishness and mistakes of official Russia may have been—and these are not minimized—the German contention that Russia was planning and preparing to go to war in 1918 or 1920 must be dismissed as untenable. To advance such a claim without convincing proof is to substitute suspicion for formal justice in international affairs. And when the crisis came, there was only one course which official Russia could in honor pursue. "I am not a friend of the Russian Government," frankly declares M. Alexinsky. "I do not believe in the 'sincerity' of the intentions of the autocratic Government. I know that it oppresses many peoples. But this is no reason why it should commit a final act of cowardice and abandon Serbia to the Austro-German sword. Autocratic Tsarism is not a good thing, but would it have been any better had it been guilty of an act of treason to the little Serbian nation which looked to Russia for its salvation?" So far as soundness of world-policy and sincerity of intentions are concerned, it would seem that official Russia and official Germany are tarred with the same stick—the chief difference between them being that a victory for Germany would be far more dangerous to Europe than a Russian triumph because of Germany's superior technical and capitalistic development.

In many ways, M. Alexinsky's book gives an illuminating and often encouraging view of Russian thought and feeling. The sole qualification of its value lies in the fact that, since it is evidently written somewhat from a party point of view, it is not easy to know how large a part of the Russian people share in the author's opinions.

SCANDINAVIA OF THE SCANDINAVIANS. By Henry Goddard Leach. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

Scandinavia is at peace; Denmark, Norway and Sweden, since the beginning of the world-war, have drawn together more closely than ever before in a league of mutual unity and protection, forgetting old rivalries and prejudices. It is partly for this reason, no doubt, that Mr. Leach's book, *Scandinavia of the Scandinavians*, makes rather especially pleasant reading at this time. The volume, though brief and of diversified contents, is neither superficial nor perfunctory; it balances the claims of an agreeably humane and imaginative curiosity with those of the craving for definite information. Briefly Mr. Leach sketches the history of each of the three

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Scandinavian countries; he has something to say of their governments and institutions; he tells considerably more about their industries and the home life of their peoples; he introduces sections devoted to literature, architecture, and painting; and he adverts here and there to the scenery with an effect rather pleasing than wearisome.

Nothing like well-rounded completeness is to be expected, of course, in a small volume of three hundred and twenty pages; and it is true that in certain parts Mr. Leach's treatise betrays an unavoidable inadequacy. The discussions of artists and men of letters, for example, show a tendency to become mere lists of names interspersed with characterizations too brief to be really illuminating. The author has been quite successful, however, in supplying clear impressions regarding those topics on which he chooses to dilate. His remarks concerning Brandes, Björnson and Ibsen, Strindberg and Lägerlof, are instructive to those not already acquainted with these authors, and in each case they convey something of the national background and point of view. He has been judicious in the choice of subjects for detailed consideration. His account of the political and literary enthusiasm stirred in Norway over the effort to supersede the half-Norsified Danish, which had become the cultivated language of Norway, by a revival of the old Norse speech based upon local dialects, gives a glimpse into a frame of mind interesting and quite alien to us. In general, the varied facts contained in the volume are set forth with a definiteness, a selective emphasis, or an appeal to the imagination that give them somewhat more point and persistence in the memory than is usual for bookish statements. The reader will be strongly impressed by the gradual transformation of Norway from an agricultural to a manufacturing country; by her harnessing of the waterfalls; by the electrification of the Swedish railroads. How many Americans know that the first practical application of the Bessemer steel process was made by a Swede (G. F. Göransson); that another (Alfred Nobel) invented dynamite; that a third (Gustaf de Laval) invented the cream-separator? How many of us know anything of Lapland or have ever heard of the Lapland Express—that "bejewelled phantom of luxurious content, hurrying across the bleak steppes in the mysterious Northern night"?

THE HISTORY OF TWELVE DAYS (JULY 24TH TO AUGUST 4TH, 1914). By J. W. Headlam, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

To those who are interested in the quasi-legal question as to what nation was immediately responsible for the outbreak of the European war, Mr. Headlam's book may be recommended, with the proviso that the author, an Englishman, is avowedly pro-Ally in his sym-

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pathies. "Writing in the middle of the great war," says Mr. Headlam in his preface, "it would be foolish to claim the merit of impartiality. Impartiality means that one is indifferent to the results of an investigation, and to us the results are of vital moment. I will, however, say this, that even if not impartial, I have written no word which I do not believe to be true."

In the diplomatic correspondence published by the various Governments, Mr. Headlam finds the prime and almost the sole authorities for his study. These he has thoroughly digested, arranging his material in the form of a connected narrative, and quoting original documents, or the significant parts of them, not in notes or appendices, but as integral parts of his discourse. Obviously he has intended to build up his story as far as possible out of precise citations, and he has reduced his comment to the minimum necessary for clearness and for the drawing out of the inferences which the narrative as he frames it plainly requires.

It is obvious that from a discussion of the pros and cons of diplomatic correspondence only a more or less superficial case can be deduced: the underlying motives, the ultimate justifications, if they exist, will not in this way come to light. Mr. Headlam, indeed, disclaims any attempt to penetrate further than the formal statements of the Governments concerned in the disputes out of which the war grew: he does not try to write a philosophy of the causes of the war, nor a refutation of militaristic ethics. To an otherwise uninformed reader of the story told by Mr. Headlam with what seems an obvious concern for accuracy, it cannot but appear that it was Germany and her ally, Austria, that made the European war inevitable. This the diplomatic correspondence, seen in perspective, makes tolerably plain. The whole attitude of the German Government seems hardly explicable except upon the ground that this Government did not desire peace except on terms that it knew other Governments would not accept. "It is indeed true," writes the author, "that they [the Germans] would doubtless have preferred a peaceful solution, provided that a peaceful solution could be obtained by the submission of Russia; this is in reality what is meant by the phrase 'localization of the conflict.' This meant, not that the matter was one in which Russia was not concerned, but that such diplomatic pressure should be used as to prevent Russia from establishing, as she would doubtless wish to do, her right to be consulted."

Indications of this general attitude on the part of Germany come up again and again in the course of Mr. Headlam's narrative, and constitute its chief controversial points.

Untrue, by many indications, the author believes the protestations of the German diplomatists that their Government was ignorant of the scope of the note sent by Austria to Serbia. Though it is quite possible that Herr von Jagow had not seen the note in its final form, it is hardly to be believed that the heads of the Govern-

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ment had not been warned of its probable nature. "This had been the subject of constant discussion in the press for a week or more before the 23d. Austrian newspapers had referred to the details of it with obviously good knowledge." If the German Government had wished to ensure that impossible demands should not be included in the Austrian Note, they had ample opportunity to intervene. On the other hand, it is, in the author's opinion, unthinkable that the German Government should have given to Austria a completely free hand as they profess to have done, and have pledged their full support to a document of which they had no knowledge, realizing, as they must have done, the incalculable consequences in which such a course might involve their country.

The first effort to ameliorate the situation created by the Austrian Note was the suggestion made by Russia and supported by Italy, France, and England, that the very short time-limit fixed in that note be lengthened. This suggestion was rejected by Austria and was very coolly received by Germany. Herr von Jagow in a conversation reported by M. Bronewsky expressed "doubts as to the wisdom of Austria yielding at the last moment," and advanced the opinion that "such a step on her part might increase the assurance of Serbia." A discussion of the very conciliatory Serbian reply and of the Austrian attitude toward it seems to establish the fact that "Austria went to war with Serbia—thereby deliberately running the risk of involving the whole of Europe in war—because she demanded integral acceptance of her Note, and because she would neither give the time nor agree to the establishment of the machinery to convey in an official manner to the Serbian Government the explanation which might easily have resulted in complete agreement."

With reference to the English proposals for mediation, Mr. Headlam strongly suggests that the German Government acted in bad faith. Both Herr von Jagow and the Chancellor claim to have exerted the greatest pressure upon Austria, and to have done their best to influence her toward peace. On the other hand, neither in the German White Book nor in the Austrian Red Book is there a single document showing that real pressure was used. "We have several documents bearing on this matter, but in every case they consist simply of a bare communication to Vienna of proposals for mediation." Exhibit No. 43 of the Austrian Red Book, for example, simply conveys one of the English proposals with the addendum: "Herr von Tschirschky was commissioned to bring the English proposal before the Vienna Cabinet for their consideration." The discrepancy appears to be best explained by the supposition that the Chancellor was aware that the war party in Vienna and especially in Buda Pesth was receiving support from Berlin, and that his efforts for peace were in this way rendered nugatory.

German pressure in the interests of peace was brought to bear, in fact, not upon Austria-Hungary, but upon Russia. The three

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methods available—persuasion, isolation, intimidation—were successively tried. Persuasion failed when Russia declined to accept as sufficient the Austrian assurance that nothing dangerous to her interests was contemplated. Diplomatic isolation failed when France refused to be separated from her ally, and Great Britain turned a deaf ear to proposals that seemed to her manifestly unjust. Intimidation followed. "As soon as the determination of Russia to make herself heard as against the Austrian attack upon Serbia was known, the German Government began to use language at St. Petersburg which in no equivocal way showed that if Russia continued her protest she would have to meet in war the combined Austrian and German armies." The German attitude is made clear in a document containing instructions to the envoys of the Prussian Government accredited to the different Governments of Germany—a formal explanation, in fact, of the Imperial policy to the Federated Governments. From this document no one would guess that any exception might be taken to the demands of Austria upon Serbia, or that Serbia was prepared to satisfy a large part of Austria's requirements. The references to Russia are equally misleading. "There is not a word as to the weighty and responsible protest made by the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, not a word of the proposals to discuss the situation with Austria, not a word of the Russian offer to help the Austrians in getting the guarantees to which they were entitled."

The most serious impeachment of German good faith, however, is the charge which Mr. Headlam feels justified in making after examination of the documents in the case, that Berlin deliberately frustrated the renewed English attempts at mediation by suppressing the message, sent from Vienna to Berlin, in which Austria for the first time accepted the principle of mediation between herself and Serbia. Sir Edward Grey never received this answer to his proposals—an answer which would have given him the long-desired basis for effective negotiation with both Austria and Russia—and nothing was known of it till the telegram was published six months later by the Austrian Government. The motive for this suppression, Mr. Headlam thinks, is evident: Germany desired to have it appear that the reason why nothing had come from Vienna was the mobilization of the Russian army.

The points instanced show the general trend of Mr. Headlam's argument without, of course, supplying even an outline of his discourse, which follows out with extreme care and thoroughness all the negotiations from the sending of the Austrian Note to the invasion of Belgium. The effect is to cast the responsibility of the war almost wholly upon Germany.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

WHERE AMERICA SHOULD STAND

SIR,—I have read your great article in the August number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, "America First," and I have been so impressed with the logic and force of it that I must write you these few lines of appreciation.

I believe that this is the hour when good men everywhere, in every land, should rally with stout and determined hearts to the defense of the Christian ideals and the civilization that the last twenty centuries have achieved, and it is a magnificent and most inspiring thought that, in the midst of all the clamor and conflicting interests, the world's great heart is beating true to the promptings of humanity and righteousness. True it is that in our land we hear the strident notes and raucous cries of a small portion of our population who have come amongst us, but have been unable as yet to get fully into the spirit of our institutions or to understand the meaning of our flag. But the great heart of America is still beating true, and we should not and will not be deterred by these forces and alien voices from pursuing the even tenor of our way, that shall lead us to maintain in all their strength and dignity the great principles underlying the very fabric of our government, and for which our heroic forbears fought and died.

The world, I believe, has now at last come to understand fully that in this contest now being waged the fundamental issue to be determined is whether "might makes right" and whether or not small states have a right to exist. In such an issue, of course, there never can be any question as to where America will stand.

The regrettable thing about it all, however, is that those representing the American people failed at the very outset to understand the meaning and significance of this contest, and so in the early stages failed of a great opportunity to place their country authoritatively and unequivocally on record in condemnation of Germany in her beginning and conduct of this war, more monstrous and hideous than anything that has shocked humanity since the days when the Huns and Vandals, ages ago, desolated and desecrated the face of civilization by their barbarous invasions.

However, at last it seems that the President has felt the great beating heart of the American people, and now that Bryan, the Jonah of our Ship of State, has been thrown overboard, we may expect to see this great country dealing strongly, but righteously always, with the great world-problems that are now inevitably and irrevocably pressing upon us.

The barbarous savagery to which Germany has resorted in her conduct

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of the war shows only her desperation, and shows also, in a most revealing light, the fundamental reasons why, in this contest, civilization and humanity must see that she shall not win.

L. G. ROBERTS.

BOSTON, MASS.

FROM AN UNDAUNTED CHAMPION OF GERMANY

SIR,—To repeat a quotation of your own, you have, I think, most decidedly "come on," in your "America First." It is nearly startling! The editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, usually so urbane, so amusedly superior to all the excitements that generally prevail, almost loses his self-control.

May I, however, referring to a few statements in this article, voice another point of view?

First of all, I am quite convinced that all German-Americans, including Americans of German descent, *do* put "America First." You cannot blame them, however, for resenting what seems to them the unjust discrimination against Germany expressed so forcefully and regardlessly in the American press.

You say, "We are not of those who would evade responsibility or avert criticism by shouting vaguely, 'Stand by the President'; that is a course befitting subjects, not citizens" (page 162). But (page 168) you speak of "the traitorous utterances of hyphenated editors who write as Germans." Does not that seem a bit inconsistent?

You intimate that Germany it was who "tore up 'the scrap of paper.'" The German minister said explicitly that he was referring to England's general attitude toward treaties when he used that expression. Did he not? I am sure that I read that somewhere. Some one separated the words from the context and stated that this was the self-confessed attitude of Germany.

You say that declaring a "war zone" was a "brazen violation of international law." Are we not very technical, suddenly, about our observance of international law? Did not the President advise Americans to leave Mexico when it became dangerous to remain there? Would it have been improper, then, to advise Americans to observe caution about venturing into the danger zone? I know a lady who sailed for England a day after the *Lusitania*. Her husband, an American, living in London, advised her to be certain to book her passage on an American ship. She arrived in England safely. Was that not slight enough caution to observe?

Considering the matter legally, however, was it United States law to ship ammunition with passengers? Or to allow a belligerent thus to sail from our own ports? Are not our contentions based on rather dubious premises?

And again, considering the matter legally and based on your own premises: "It is this explicitly guaranteed right to engage in free intercourse and commerce with other nations that we contend for." Does not the case, resting on these premises, involve our interrupted commerce with Germany, as admitted by yourself upon previous occasions? But what a fine distinction our pro-British editors are making! We do not seem to be filled with the slightest acrimony toward England. We must be very careful not to allow a little thing like that to affect our relations with Eng-

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land. It would not be a very opportune time, to be sure, to become involved in war with both England and Germany.

Again, regarding the "war zone." Is it not also against international law to declare an ineffective blockade? At the beginning, the English blockade was not even a declared blockade, and is certainly ineffective. But that is passed over quite lightly by our pro-British editors.

We will admit that the case against Germany involves the loss of human lives, American human lives.

It seems to me that a good way for us to put ourselves in the right would be to safeguard *German* and other lives in Mexico. Do we not hold ourselves responsible for as much when we base our attitude in all matters concerning this continent on the Monroe Doctrine?

I was amazed to learn that so many *American* lives were lost in Mexico. The American press seems to have passed over this fact very lightly. Our self-righteousness in the case against Germany, all things considered, takes on a rather amusing aspect, despite the "cause of humanity."

"*Deutschland über Alles*," is, of course, merely the German equivalent to our "America First." Hence the controversy.

Shall we declare war on Mexico, England and Germany? Why should we alone—Mexico apparently being past consideration—be "pig-headed"? Can *we* not arbitrate? The German Emperor stated that French aviators had dropped bombs on German cities before he declared war. We criticized him for plunging into war for such a reason, and a few others. Then why should we? Will it bring back the dead?

We may say, or at least hope, that "*never* so long as patriotic spirit animates American beings shall this free Republic be found guilty before God and history of violation of those principles of highest humanity which are the foundations of every national existence and of all civilization," but can we say, *never* has it been guilty? Then why set ourselves upon a pedestal, breaking our own laws, failing to fulfill our own obligations, and condemning a nation with the fiercest denunciations, which is, after all, one against many?

Does anybody think that Belgium would have resisted Germany if it had not depended on England and France, if it had not, in fact, very likely had an understanding with these two nations? Why ignore all the data from various sources which seem to prove this? Oh, because we are pro-British.

I believe the editor has, at least, given us the most ironically masterful misinterpretation of the German note extant.

(Miss) J. Mandery.

Rochester, N. Y.

WAR WITH DIGNITY

Sir,—I can't refrain from a word of commendation for "America First," your last editorial broadside. I read it twice, every word and slowly, and it is the most forceful and unanswerable presentation of the present situation. How any self-respecting citizen of this "land of the free" can look at it differently I cannot imagine. I have heard the German arguments from German sympathizers:

1. Germany had declared a war zone. Yes, but by what right, except by an effectual blockade?

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2. Germany had warned passengers of the *Lusitania*. Yes, warned them not to do what they had a clear right to do.

3. England is to blame, so two wrongs make a right.

4. International law is obsolete. Yes, so Germany can write it as suits her pleasure, convenience, or needs for logical explanation. It is the logic of might makes right, that military necessity knows no law.

We have been deliberately slapped in the face by Germany and she is laughing in her sleeve. War with dignity is better than peace with disgrace. That is the way the country feels.

MAX L. POWELL.

BURLINGTON, VT.

"BLUNTLY INSINUATING"

SIR,—After reading your article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August, "America First," it seems an imperative duty that I should say, in plain English, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

You have not quite the courage to say, "if President Wilson doesn't do as I wish, he is no good"—you have not the courage to say quite frankly that the United States must declare war on Germany at any cost—never once do you *dare* say we must go to war; yet, if I understand you, every line breathes this vicious sentiment.

Presupposing that Germany has done everything which you contend she has done—taking the situation just as YOU think it stands, still your article is contemptible because it *insinuates*—bluntly, it is true—but still *insinuates*, whereas if our country is in the dire straits which you see, it is quite time to be frank. Don't give us any more literary efforts or effusions, but come out for your country in plain English words. Round off your sentences with that frightful word *War*, when you mean War, and don't nicely dodge.

Then we will forgive you whatever side you are on.

Yours none too respectfully,

MRS. FRANZ MILCKE.

WALLINGFORD, CONN.

BEYOND THE AID OF MAPS

SIR,—What is this new kingdom, "America," about which you make such a fuss with exclamation marks in the August number of the REVIEW? I was born of citizen parents in Maine some time ago; we emigrated first to Massachusetts, then to New Hampshire. I have not traveled very widely in the States, but I have read much concerning them. Never, except in sordid advertisements, have I seen mention of this state (or kingdom) "America." Your flamboyant editorial, "America First!" is not explicative. May I expect from you (or through the REVIEW) an answer to my question: What and where is "America?"

Maps with the text would help, no doubt. If no explicit answer can be given, I should be pleased to entertain the broadest hint you can convey in verse or prose.

I do hope this state or kingdom, "America," is not now like the Prussia of near-mythology which lately emerged in history, most disastrously for the race.

GORDON PINGREE.

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INCOMPARABLE

SIR,—I don't go in for writing long letters, but a word of appreciation is due even from me. The August number of the REVIEW, just received by me, is incomparable for its excellence, and your article, "America First," is very timely, and gives one a clear insight into the situation. We have come to the parting of the ways. Talk is idle. We must act, and show Germany that America is not to be trifled with. The other articles in the August number are grand, notably John Burroughs' "Life and Chance." Take it all in all, the number is—as I have said—incomparable, and deserves to hold a place in literature.

A. H.

CASENOVIA, MINN.

THE FIRST VOLUNTEER

SIR,—I have read your "America First," and have offered the Government my services for military purposes in case it comes to war. It seems to me *that* action best suits your words. If one hundred per cent of the readers of your article take the same step as I, you will perforce be promoted from Colonel to Major General. All of which is "respectfully submitted."

S. H. C.

BAR HARBOR, ME.

"DAMNABLE PREMEDITATED MURDER"

SIR,—In your leader, "America First," "Suit the Action," &c., you "STRUCK IT"—nearly, but not quite. You should have said somewhere: "Damnable Premeditated Murder," in describing Germany's conduct.

HENRY T. MEIGS.

ROMNEY, IND.

EXPERT TESTIMONY?

SIR,—After carefully reading your article, "America First," in the August number, I come to the conclusion that you must be suffering from a severe brain-storm.

J. J. KENNELLY.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

MORE GUERDONS FOR MR. CHAMBERLAIN

SIR,—I have always regarded THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW as embodying all that is best in periodical literature on this side of the Atlantic. The REVIEW has, as a rule, if not always, been characterized by broad-mindedness, scholarship and sobriety; hence my severe disappointment on reading the article on England, published in the July issue, by Houston Stewart Chamberlain. I could not understand how such trashy, venomous, unscholarly stuff should appear in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN RE-

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VIEW. Your explanation that the REVIEW is a forum, and that Mr. Chamberlain's reputation as a historian entitled him to a hearing, does not carry conviction. It lies with you as the responsible guardian of a great tradition to determine the level of that "forum"; and it must have been perfectly apparent that the article in question had absolutely no literary or historical merit. The only interest attaching to the article is that such a degenerate freak as Mr. Chamberlain should (apparently) hail from Oxford, which Arnold has felicitously termed "the home of lost causes and impossible loyalties"; the article also sheds considerable light on the mental pathology of an apostate.

Let me state that I am not an Englishman, and that I am not here concerned with the formidable indictment brought against the English nation. That nation, apparently reared on trade and piracy and schooled in lies and hypocrisy, has been able to take care of itself (and of others) in the past, and will continue to do so in the future.

What interested and amused me as a student of history was not his conclusions (for in the last resort these were also his premises), but rather the method in which he handles historical evidence and treats historical facts. Did he not take himself so seriously, we could regard Mr. Chamberlain as an ignorant old man who is pathetically simple. Look, for instance, at the way in which he manages to introduce Warren Hastings, as well as the American case against England in the War of 1812! Everything in the article is on a par. His method is simply vicious; his treatment of cause and event is superficial, amusing and grotesque; his statement of fact is inaccurate, and his interpretation tortuous and disingenuous.

After the method of Herr Professors, Mr. Chamberlain begins by crediting himself with profound vision; he then picks out two facts (the last not so much a fact as a process) in a nation's life; and, from the action and interaction of these two, all the subsequent history of that nation can be explained, and nothing explained without reference to them; but, then, the exponent must be capable of getting profound glimpses; this evidently was the peculiar experience of Mr. Chamberlain on the eve of the election of 1868. The "Blues" administered to him a thrashing (I have no doubt for reasons not all connected with his mounting the "Red"); with "profound" insight he traces the thrashing to the discoveries of Columbus (for this is what it amounts to) and the landing of Duke William. This would truly be a superb illustration of the permanence of ancient causes! Four or five years ago I mounted the "Red" during an election campaign at a Great British University, where I was then an undergraduate; let me say that I got badly knocked about, but unfortunately, though a student of history at the time, I was not gifted with profound vision!

Take Mr. Chamberlain's interpretation of the Norman Conquest. He tells us that the Conquest made a cleavage in English society and set up in England the barriers of caste, an impassable gulf which separates the noble and the plebeian down to our own day. Now, as a matter of fact and history, this cleavage—meaning, of course, the destruction between the landowners and the landless, the privileged and unprivileged—existed prior to the Norman Conquest. What is more important, however, is that Mr. Chamberlain confuses "caste" and "classes." Caste has a semi-religious inflection, and the nearest approach to it in modern Europe was not in England, but in France of the Old Regime.

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It would be waste of time to go on further examining this curious amalgam of untruths, inaccuracies and spleen, masquerading as history. Mr. Chamberlain's *prating of German freedom and happiness is but the wail* of a lost soul mourning for his self-respect.

ALASTAIR J. MONTGOMERY, M. A.

MOUND, LA.

SIR,—I have read the article, "England," by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in your July issue, and, in looking over the personal notes of contributors, I note that the mention of Mr. Chamberlain's famous work, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, is followed by the flippant remark: "of which the Kaiser is reported to have purchased 80,000 copies."

Let me assure you that the work of Mr. Chamberlain that you have mentioned is one of universally recognized merit, in England, here in America, in Germany, and the world over, and even the national partisanships created through this world war cannot obscure the fact that Chamberlain's work is not that of a mere scrivener, but it characterizes a man of profound historical learning and unusually clear judgment. However, the statement that the Kaiser should have bought 80,000 copies of this work sounds ridiculous, to say the least, and there can hardly be left a doubt that it was made in this form for the purpose of casting a gentle slur on Mr. Chamberlain by thus insinuating that, perhaps, he was paid by the Kaiser for the writing of the article in your July issue. I think there is no doubt of your catering for British interests, as Mr. Gehring has expressed himself in the letter printed in the July issue.

As a good American, I am rather sorry to see the status of your magazine so lowered as to make it a mere servant of the interests of a foreign nation. No doubt, the British will be highly pleased with your general editorial policy under the present circumstances, but among themselves, without a doubt, they despise your action with a cool air of superiority, as they have always felt towards American ways and institutions. On the other hand, how much more dignified and respect-demanding would it be if it were possible to maintain a more evenly balanced neutrality?

S. W. BROWNING.

PITTSBURGH, PENN.

SIR,—I have just finished reading the article in the July NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW on "England," by Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain. After giving such a fine example of an expatriated Englishman so prominent a place in your magazine, do you not think it would be fair to your readers to tell them more about this Englishman's (?) motives? Such an article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, by Mr. Herman Ridder or some other *German* (Is Mr. Ridder an American citizen?), would be understandable, but in such times as these for a man to desert or berate his country and boastingly sign himself a native or citizen of that country—well, before assigning him to the scorn he deserves, I would know more of his motives. Was it those 80,000 copies of his book the Kaiser purchased that made his sentiments and loyalty so purchasable and traitorous? I really feel quite as badly at seeing this person's name or utterances alongside Mr. Wayne MacVeagh's and your honored own, "Dear Editor," as I do to think

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of William Jennings Bryan's being even associated with those of James G. Blaine, John Hay, or Elihu Root.

Please do not consign this to the editorial waste basket.

H. C. DAVIDSON.

NEW YORK CITY.

SIR,—For quite ten years I have been one of your most constant and admiring readers. No issue of the REVIEW in all that time has failed to give me a full measure of pleasure, pressed down and running over, but never, Sir, have I derived so much satisfaction from anything you have printed as from the statement in Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain's article on England that upon one occasion he was assailed by a British mob, flung to the ground, and beaten until the teachers and servants hastened to his assistance. It is a pleasure to know that Mr. Chamberlain got what he so richly deserved, even if he did anticipate the payment by several decades. It is very handsome of him at this late date to justify his assailants by writing the venomous philippic against his native land which, in pursuance of your own subtle purposes, you have so properly printed in your July issue.

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS.

OGUNQUIT, MAINE.

SIR,—I had been a reader of the REVIEW for a good many years before I became a regular subscriber. I have in my library issues as far back as 1890. During all these years I have never had occasion to find fault with anything appearing in the REVIEW, though not always in accord with your contributors. The paper by Mr. Chamberlain in your July number, however, left a very bad taste in my mouth. Honorable men can have no liking for one who besmirches his own nest. I sincerely trust that your admirable publication will never be so hard up for material as to make it necessary again to subject your readers to Mr. Chamberlain's diatribes against his mother-country.

J. J. JACOBI.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

TWO VIEWS OF "THE MAN JESUS"

SIR,—May I presume on your valuable time? I am one of your humble admirers, and have always entertained the highest respect for your judgment and scholarship. Lately I have been confronted with a difficulty which I am going to propose to you for solution. How did you ever come to allow that serial of Mary Austin's to appear in the one great, big magazine of the country, a magazine which has always maintained the highest scholarship and deepest thought?—for such unquestionably is the history of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. This serial can boast neither of scholarship nor profundity of thought. It is merely a combination of mawkish sentimentality and outworn theories of the rationalists which have long ago been thrown into the discard. I know right well that you would not stand for a life of Washington or Lincoln written along the same lines, with the same disregard for the only authentic sources of information. You would justly resent the action of any man who, under the guise of writing the life of your father, produced a caricature of him. Now, for a great many of

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your readers, Jesus Christ is more than father or mother, for He is God himself. You can readily understand, therefore, how we regard as nothing less than blasphemous such a misrepresentation of Christ as is now appearing in the pages of our greatest magazine. I don't register this protest in any narrow, sectarian sense, but I do resent the fact that the prestige of the magazine is being used to caricature the most sublime figure in all history.

T. G. SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR,—Permit me to express to you my appreciation of the remarkable work accomplished by Mary Austin in her impressive and absorbingly interesting Life of Christ, now appearing in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. No one who has felt the influence of the sublime figure of Jesus as he is limned for us in the Gospels can help rendering a tribute of profound admiration to Mrs. Austin for the manner in which she has accomplished her interpretation of this great subject. To present a portrait of the Man from Nazareth which is so refreshingly independent of convention, yet so deeply reverent; which succeeds in the staggering task of bringing to bear a free play of intelligence and imagination, without a suggestion of blasphemy or offense, is indeed a triumph of skill, of art, of insight and of inspiration. No one who has truly felt the spell of the personality of Christ can read this noble Life without profound emotion. That it will be disliked and repudiated by the narrow-minded, the spiritually myopic, and those who give ear only to "the bleat of evangelical orthodoxy," goes without saying.

I congratulate Mrs. Austin upon the splendid medium which she has been so fortunate as to secure for the publication of her views, and I congratulate your great magazine upon having secured so notable and important a feature.

H. W. RUTGERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A CANDID FRIEND

SIR,—I have been a reader of your very much esteemed magazine for a few months, and in most of your editorials I am right alongside with you, especially what you have to say about the brutality of the Germans, and the Kaiser. They claim to be carrying on a holy war when there is no holiness in such a world-war as that in Europe. To think that the whole world is in danger of being overrun!

I think, though, you are too hard on Mr. Bryan. I have always been an admirer of Mr. Bryan. If any man is honest in his convictions, and thinks he is right, it is not proper to condemn him and his principles in such harsh terms. You cannot deny that most things Mr. Bryan has contended for, even though strongly opposed at first by the people, were finally demonstrated to be right after people became educated in thinking, and were able to see through the veil of darkness that obscured their mental vision. But excepting your tirade on Mr. Bryan, I am with you. But I condemn all such as Mr. Chamberlain. I don't think there is much English

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blood coursing through his veins. I must say, clodhopper as I am, that THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is a great magazine.

D. BARTLETT.

NIANGUA, MO.

FROM A NON-SMOKING ADMIRER

SIR,—I take the time to write with my own hand a personal letter to you. As an educator I want to thank you for the high type of journalism maintained by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. In my judgment it is second to none. It has had a long line of illustrious editors, and the present editor is worthy of his predecessors. I have just read your editorial in a recent issue on "The Duty of America." It is characteristically keen in its analysis and sound in its conclusions. The scope of subjects treated in your magazine and the class of its contributors give it permanent literary worth. In fact, I am so enthusiastic over THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that I publicly recommended it in an address to our students. I am, however, rather shocked to find in a recent number of the REVIEW an advertisement of a certain cigarette. In these days when legislatures are passing laws prohibiting the use of the deadly cigarette, I am surprised to find such an advertisement in our much-esteemed REVIEW.

RICHARD R. BLEWS.

EVANSVILLE, WIS.

HE WAS REFRESHED

SIR,—Congratulations upon your article in the August issue of the REVIEW! It is refreshing. The so-called leaders of thought in America don't lead, only slobber around and apply the grand policy of "watchful waiting" to international affairs because it has worked out so beautifully in Mexico.

RODERICK H. SMITH.

DETROIT, MICH.

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THE MAN JESUS

BY MARY AUSTIN

CHAPTER VII

It seems that while they were in the way to Jerusalem, the reserve and caution which had characterized the movement of the Master for the past few months were suddenly laid aside. Jesus resumed the leadership, walked openly at the head of his disciples, filled with power. In answer to their fear and amazement he must have tried again to prepare them for what was to happen shortly at Jerusalem, and again the revelation was either too symbolic to be clear, or too clear to be believable. All that they seemed to gather from it was that the expected apocalypse was at hand; and, full of unshakable confidence in the result, James and John preferred their request. It was very simple: that they might sit the one on the right hand, the other on the left of him in glory.

Said the master, "Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with?" They thought they could, knowing nothing of what the words signified, thinking of them, no doubt, as purely material, and that death and humiliation could in no wise be endured by one who healed lepers and raised the dying by the hand. But it was not their obtuseness which touched Jesus so nearly, nor the jealousy of the other ten at their asking, as the evidence of self-seeking the utter failure of his disciples to grasp the teaching which the last phases of his life were so completely to exemplify—the need and the power of service. "For whoso seeketh his life shall lose it and he that loseth shall find.... and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be the servant of all.... for the son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister."

Of the recorded part of this Perean pilgrimage there is very little more except what is common to all his ministry. Of healings there was but one, a blind man by the roadside as they came into Jericho; of parables the same sort, and perhaps the same that belonged to the preaching in Galilee. They were all of the kingdon and how it should be constituted and of the Fatherliness of God. The kingdom of heaven was a net which was let down into the sea, it was a field of sown wheat among which the enemy scattered tares, it was the leaven

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hid in three measures of meal. It was anything that might imply separation of what is good from what is evil, the deliberate choice of the soul. The kingdom was something which, when you had found it, was worth all that you had to pay, into possession of which you might not enter without the full price. It was a little child whom he had set in their midst and said, " of such is the kingdom of heaven." It was in being all that the child was,—trusting, doing no evil, thinking none, all-loving, glad. The kingdom of heaven proceeded from the heart outward, and was not affected by material observances. It was the faith of the mustard seed which, by merely accepting the condition of being a seed and growing, became as a tree in the branches of which lodged the birds of the air. " And behold, the kingdom of God is within you."

Of God there was less to say because simpler. He was a father pitying his children, rejoicing more over one sinner which repented than over ninety and nine which went not astray. He was the just judge and the wise master; the friend of the soul of man. He heard prayer and answered it, and men ought always to pray and faint not.

As to what Jesus said of himself there is less than this generation realizes. Nursed in an interpretation of Christianity which made Jesus the chief part of his own teaching, we have much to forget before we can see how apart he held himself from his doctrine. That day in Nazareth, when among his own kin he stood up in the synagogue and read from the book of Isaiah, was his first and only public attempt to represent himself as the fulfillment of prophecy. He read:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor. . . . to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. But there is no evidence that when he began to say, " This day is the scripture fulfilled in your ears," he thought of himself as anything more than the scripture described,—an appointed preacher, another voice in the wilderness. To John who sent asking, he offered not himself but his works. Once in the press at Capernaum a woman cried out, " Blessed be the woman that bore thee and the breasts that gave thee suck." And he answered her rebukingly, " Rather blessed be they that hear the word of God and keep it," and on the mountain, impatiently, " Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say? "

Though he came finally to accept himself as the fulfillment of prophecy, it must never be forgotten that the Messiah of expectation was not thought of as a man of divine nature, but as divinely appointed. The claims which Jesus made to divinity were not different in kind from those he set up on behalf of every man, through a knowledge of sonship with the Father, through the personal revelation. Strive therefore.... " to know yourselves, and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Father." Sayings such as these leave us in no doubt that Jesus meant to teach the kinship of God and man as a reality, the objective of the soul's immemorial quest.

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Prophets had glimpsed it; the East had made the certainty its own, but with the difference which marks out the man of Nazareth for us as the foremost of Occidentals. The Orient had accepted its recognition of the deific principle in man as an invitation to Nirvana, the final reabsorption of selfhood in Godhead. And at the point where the East found itself, it turned its back on humanity. To Jesus it came as the call of the open road; the threshold of infinite possibility—" be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." The more he knew himself the son of God the more of a personality he became, the more social and livable his teaching.

That he did, by conscious realization of the divine principle in himself, arrive at a dignity and scope of character which, as we contemplate it, strikes a tremor out of us still at this distance, there can be no reasonable doubt; but equally no doubt that he thought of himself as distinct and apart from Godhead. "Why callest thou me good?" he protested, " there is none good but one, that is God."

That he was not wholly understood in this, even by those nearest to him, is evident from the way they phrased it..... " to as many as believed on him gave he power to become the sons of God...." So they thought of it as something bestowed rather than revealed; and of his offer of himself and his experiences as a demonstration of his claim to sonship, his enemies made a blasphemy. " He maketh himself equal to God "—though there must have been even less of this in his spoken word than we find in the gospels, colored as they were by what came to be thought of him afterward.

A prolific source of confusion as to what Jesus really claimed for himself, is a class of sayings which find a counterpart in the oracles of Greece and Rome, in which the speaker takes on the character of the god without assuming godhead on his own account. Among these are the sayings so freely attributed to him by the apostles.... " Come unto me, all ye that labor . . . . " and again, " I am the door; by me if any man enter in.... " where he left off his own character to speak with the voice of the Spirit.

Once to every man, when he loves greatly, when he finishes a great work, or when a son is born, comes the moment when he feels himself the center of incalculable harmonies, moving with the Tide of Things, entitled to speak with authority. This is that state called mystical to which men like Jesus are natural inheritors, needing no adventitious human experience to keep them at its most fructifying levels. It is the state of active communion with God which may be attained by self abnegations, which it is the object of religious fasting to capture and hold,—that electrical indwelling, impossible to define but needing only to be recalled to those who have experienced it. This was that bridegroom referred to by Jesus in answer to the Pharisees: " Can the children of the bridechamber fast while the bridegroom is with them? "—the spirit of true enlightenment. In the village

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prayer meeting you will hear it referred to as "the joy of the Lord," but the great Christian mystics like Saint Theresa and Saint John of the Cross have used always to speak of it as Jesus often did, in terms of espousal.

To one who understands these things it is perfectly intelligible that Jesus would deny the need of fasting to those of his disciples who already had "the bridegroom with them," without making any claim to personal preciousness.

To the fact that the immediate followers of Jesus were simple folk, close to the earth, and so understanding his speeches when they were uttered, we may attribute the circumstance that no such claim was set up for him while he lived. For this also is a folk-way, to dramatize the soul's intimate experience.

Perhaps the most striking of those utterances in which the personality of the speaker was lost in the character, without assuming the attributes, of God is the apostrophe to Jerusalem:

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together.. ..and ye would not!" The passage lacks the "Thus saith the Lord," of the earlier prophets, but it has all their high impassioned quality.

It was not until years after his death, separated from the circumstance and the man's vivifying personality, that these sayings began to take on the character of announcements of divine identity. There is no evidence that Jesus thought at all of his own nature and attributes, of why he was chosen nor how, to be the bearer of the Word. He was concerned not at all about himself, but greatly for the will of God. If there was assumption of any kind on his part, at the most it was the unclouded conviction that he knew God as no one had yet known Him, and that he was called to impart that knowledge to others.

It was in some such frame as this that he passed through Perea for the last time and came again to the borders of Judea.

Of the unwritten part of this journey it is possible to think that there is much to be traced in the life of the Christian community during the next half score of years. How many were with him on the whole journey and how many joined him in the Rift of Jordan, can only be conjectured, but he arrived in Jerusalem with a sufficient company of his Galilean friends to give to their intercourse a certain definite stamp. Here was the beginning of that strong sense of community interest, the shared bread, the daily worship, grace before meat,—habits of living which characterized the first proselyting period of the new faith; the public testimony, the benediction, the hymn singing. Above all the gracious kindliness, the cheer, the contained and quiet joy which was shed as a savor from early Christian behavior. Such as they were he must have been,—little vessels

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all of them overfilled at his fountain. (*By the water courses of Reuben, great were the resolves of heart!*)

Here too must have been established that acceptance of all women in the Father, so unequivocal that all Paul's prejudice could not afterward controvert it; he admitted them to argument, he permitted them to sit in privileged places. It does not appear that he anywhere expressed himself as opposed to any of the current notions of sex inferiority; rather he conducted himself as if he had not known such distinctions to be in use. He had not one manner for the virtuous housewife and another for the woman of the town. He yielded to the argument of the Syrophenician woman, and in a story told by John, which seems to be compounded of a half remembered parable and some items of actual incident, he is shown as revealing himself quite simply to a woman at a wayside well,—a woman of the despised Samaritan sect, thought to be so far outside the grace of God as to be disbarred from the temple, but not beyond the reach of his gospel.

Not wholly authenticated, but true enough to the situation to have been true in fact, is an incident related in the book of Apostolic Ordinances. There had arisen, it appears, in the primitive church, the question of a separate ministry for women, for among the Jews women had never been admitted to the highest intimacies of religion. John was strongly in favor of it, urging that there had been no women present at the last supper, whereat Mary was seen to smile. But when Martha called their attention to it she denied that she had laughed, "For," said she, "he told us beforehand when he taught, that the weak should be saved through the strong." Whether or not the incident occurred as related, the freedom of Jesus from every form of social prejudice was evident enough to pull the early church about from its Oriental bias toward the subjugation of women, and face it definitely toward the larger liberty of the west. Themselves in bondage to the habit of their upbringing, the women of his following probably took less than he would have allowed them; it is not recorded that he ever refused any one of them what she asked. He included women in that democracy of the spirit which established a minimum value for every soul of both sexes and all classes.

At the time the little company came down out of the high veiled land of Moab, all Jewry was afoot and astir in this business of the Passover. In the month Adar the temple tax was collected, roads were mended, sepulchers whitened lest any pilgrim suffer defilement. From every village a devoted band set forth; the poor on their own feet, the rich in litters; Jews of the disperson, Alexandrine bankers riding on camels. All the stony lanes were choked with bleating lambs for the Paschal rite, heifers for sacrifice; vendors of doves moving under great pyramids of cages. Caravans went up, goods of Damascus, Egyptian dates, silks of Arabia. Every morning found hordes of market gardeners with their donkeys waiting for the

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opening of the gates. Great loads of palm branches, of green boughs cut from the jungle along Jordan went in for the building of booths. In their gardens outside the city the rich set up pavilions—for there were no gardens within the holy city lest the blown dust of manure defile the temple—and re-lived from Sabbath to Sabbath the years their fathers spent in the Wilderness.

Herod went up, needing greatly the public consent to his war with Aretas and the countenance of the Roman authorities; Pontius Pilate, from his official seat at Cesarea-by-the-sea; new Roman officials keen for this strange new festival; legionaries for the policing of the city. A million—in favored years two million—pilgrims gathered in Jerusalem. It was the time of the year's resurrection: the orchards budded, the tufted grass was greening, cyclamen came up in the clefts of the rock with round, shining leaves like shields of silver. Along the hard white ways between the cactus hedges there was sound of Psalm singing.

Into all this pageantry of historical and religious observance Jesus came with his company, knowing the way he was to walk and able to walk in it. At the ford of Jordan, probably the same at which he was baptized, he was met by warning advisers. "Depart hence: for Herod will kill thee." To which he made answer: "Go ye, and tell that fox. . . . I cast out devils, and I do cures today and tomorrow, and the third day I shall be perfected." A cryptic saying to his disciples; but if we read "finished" for "perfected," it indicates clearly that he knew his work so near an end that it was immaterial what Herod should do to him. So with full courage he crossed over Jordan and stopped at Jericho, the fragrant. It sits in the midst of orchards close under the bluffs of Judea having the glittering surface of the Dead Sea always on the south and the brown river flowing past. When the wind is right, blown gusts of the temple music come faintly down from Jerusalem fifteen miles away. Here he spent the night and perhaps a Sabbath.

Two incidents, slight in themselves, illuminate the public mind. He was addressed by a blind man as Son of David, and Zacheus, the publican, climbed a tree that he might have a good look at the new prophet in the midst of the crowd that came out to meet him. For the movements of Jesus were noted, and to others than his immediate circle had spread the hope in him as the Messiah.

The road from Jericho to Jerusalem leads up a red gorge and its winding ridges, a hot, heavy way, blind, waterless. It figures chiefly as the scene of a parable which Jesus laid there, in which the falling among thieves was the likeliest and the rescue by the good Samaritan the loveliest that might have happened there. By this time there must have been a considerable company in the train of the man from Nazareth, traveling in a state of hardly suppressed excitement, for, says Luke, "they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear." They came singing as befitted pilgrims, a song

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of going up, " songs of degrees," dating from the return from captivity.

I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills,

they sang, seeing the hill of Zion in the mind's eye long before they came in sight of it, and also:

I was glad when they said unto me
Let us go into the house of the Lord!
Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!

for it was a great commemorative occasion, and there were many in that company who had not yet seen that sight most moving to any Jew, the holy city.

They would have been all the morning climbing up out of the sweltering Rift to the cool ridges. At Bethphage, where the road to Bethany turns off from the main highway, they took their mooning. Just around the shoulder of Olivet they would have had the first glimpse of Jerusalem. It burst upon them transfigured in the slant afternoon light, a city walled up to heaven from the gulfs of Hinnom and Kidron. First they saw the citadel, then the white towers of Atonia, the gilded temple roofs and the long arcade of Solomon's porch wreathed for the festival.... *whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord....* And looking on it, Jesus wept.

We can only conclude that what followed was born of the inspiration of the moment; it was part of that impassioned cry, " O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together! " which burst from him with all the warm and patriotic sentiment the sight of it stirred up, and with the knowledge deep in his own mind of what it was still to do to a prophet of Nazareth.

Perhaps the passage from Zechariah had just flashed upon his mind, *Thy king cometh unto thee.... lowly, and riding upon an ass....* Jerusalem that dreamed of a Messiah sitting in the heavens, clothed in authority, Jerusalem that stoned the prophets, should have a parable in the true prophetic manner, after the fashion of Isaiah who walked three years barefoot without his upper garment, and of Zedekiah who bound horns upon his forehead with which to push against the Syrians. Sending back to the village which they had just passed to borrow an ass which he had seen tied there—for there were beasts everywhere to be hired for the sight-seeing—Jesus came riding on it into the chief city of the Jews, a man of the masses, travel stained, with long hair like a woman's.

So he fulfilled, for those who strained after these things, the strained letter of the prophecy. Viewed in any other light than that of the subtle spiritual irony of which he was master, the incident takes on a poor touch of human futility, and neither vanity nor futility had any place in him. To the simple Galileans, his followers, it appealed as an assumption of new dignities. They spread their garments before him, raising a loud Hosanna. From the temple

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porch across Kedron came an answering shout. It was caught up by the crowd in the street, and many curious and devout who had listened to him in Galilee and Perea came pouring out of the Eastern Gate, waving palms and welcoming: *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good!* chanted the pilgrim band, and from the crowd streaming from the city gates came the antiphonal response,

For his mercy endureth forever!

for so it was customary to receive pilgrims at the feast of the Passover. Throughout the capital it became known that the new prophet from Nazareth had arrived with his following.

Popular excitement must have died down very soon after the procession entered by the Eastern Gate. It tailed out in the narrow streets and lost itself in the vast throngs of the indifferent and the merely curious. Nothing whatever happened. The diminishing band of enthusiasts made their way toward the temple packed with the Jews of all nations. It would have been about the hour of the evening sacrifice, the money changers would have folded their tables, the vendors of doves had left for the day, the crowd was hushed and worshipful. Jesus and his handful of Galileans looked about on all the solemn wonders, and at evening retired to the Village of Bethany.

CHAPTER VIII

Consider the lair of the lion of Judah, how it is established on the prongs of the great central plateau, walled up to heaven. On Zion is the citadel; Moriah is pieced out by solid piers of masonry to make room for the temple. Between them the Tyropœon, the place of the merchants, leads down to Hinnom; round the eastern base sweeps the valley of Jehoshaphat, through which flows Kidron. Gardens lie thick in the trough of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, but the ravine at the back of the city is called Gehenna, for rubbish is thrown there and a fire forever consumes the city's slough and waste. Across Kidron rises the Mount of Olives, from which the land falls eastward, by terraces, to the valley of the shadow, which is Jordan. Always Jerusalem looks into the gulf, but never quite to the bottom of it, and east away the blue hills of Moab float upon the horizon and affect the imagination like the sea. Northward stretches the hill country of Judea, full of contour and color. Reasons like these, as much as history, have to do with the pride of Jerusalem and its fierce resentment of overlordship. Herod the Great, being in part a Jew, held it with a strong, cruel hand; Archelus could not hold it at all, and Pontius Pilate, at this time Procurator, lost it.

But before Rome took her, the worst had already happened to Jerusalem. She had fallen into the hands of the hierarchy. Political imposition is a yoke upon men's necks, but the rule of priests is a fetter to the understanding. When Pilate ordered the Roman stand-

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ards into the city—standards bearing the image of the Emperor, and hence an abomination—the Sanhedrin opposed him, and won; when he set up votive shields in Herod's palace, the four sons of Herod headed the protest to Rome; when he spent the temple treasure on an aqueduct, he had the whole priestly party against him; but when a man came freely speaking his opinion of priests and the conduct of the temple, they made of the Procurator the instrument of his destruction. Whether they fought Pilate or used him, the mainspring of action was always the preservation of their levitical authority.

Probably they thought they were right—it is one of the prime necessities of men in large numbers that they should think so of themselves—but one thing they knew, and that was that it was profitable. Here we touch on one other factor of the Hebrew religion which determined the development of Christianity, as the soil on which it is reared determines the harvest. We have seen how Jesus rooted himself in the reality of moral principle; all that follows goes to show how the survival of his teaching was shaped by the profound Hebrew conviction of the efficacy of sacrifice. The pagan gave to his gods when there was need or when he felt happy; but Israel gave also because there was virtue in giving. He gave whether God saved or destroyed him; he gave more or less as God prospered him; the one essential was that he should keep on giving. Israel took up the principle of sacrifice, which is an indeterminate element of all religion, and made it over with the aid of the business instinct.

What had been revealed to him as the soul's supremest need had become a system. It was no longer sacrifice but tribute. Greek or Roman set up his gods where he happened to be, but the heart of Jewry beat always at Jerusalem; it was the one place where offering was acceptable to the Lord. Wherever a faithful Jew was found, from him to the temple trickled a thin stream of gold. It came from Rome and Egypt and Babylonia; it came even from a prophet in Galilee and his twelve disciples. That Jesus very clearly distinguished between tribute and sacrifice is evident from the comment credited to him on the payment of the temple tax. Tribute was a thing which might be exacted of strangers, but never of the Children; between them and the Father no such necessity existed. Nevertheless, he released one of his disciples to go a-fishing to raise the money, that no offense might be given. He conformed to the custom rather than delay a greater matter by raising an issue; but his attitude toward the abuses growing out of the system brooked no compromise.

The abuses were precisely those which a few centuries later sprang up among his name-people; for Israel had hit upon the one plan by which a hierarchy may be consistently maintained; and Christianity, blindly led by the blind, fell into the same ditch. Whether it is called tribute, or modernly disguised as "systematic giving," it is only where sacrifice ceases to be the soul's highest voluntary function and becomes a habit that the Priesthood attains to temporal power. The

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constant flow of tribute into Jerusalem had begotten a ring of grafters as invincible and corrupt as ever controlled a modern municipality. There were officials for collecting tribute and for transmitting it; merchants of exchange, who sat in the temple porch to exchange coin of all countries for the temple half-shekel, paying heavily for the privilege. There were inspectors of beasts bought for sacrifice who had to be compounded, vendors of temple wares—incense, phylacteries, reliquaries; such things as are sold immemorially about temples. Altogether the temple "rake-off" amounted to about forty thousand dollars yearly. All this was organized and, in a measure, controlled by one Annas, ex-high-priest, with his five sons, priests all, and Caiphas, his son-in-law, high-priest for the current occasion.

How much of this was known to Jesus and his disciples in Galilee is a matter of conjecture. Between affairs at the capital and the mass of the people stood the sect of the Sadducees, adroit, worldly, deriving authority solely from the books of Moses, discrediting the prophets; they intrigued alike with Rome and the priesthood, feathering their own nests. Not unknown to Jesus, they drew less of his condemnation than the Pharisees by making fewer pretensions. It is probable, however, that the Galileans had heard a rumor of these things as villagers hear them—things which they felt themselves knowing to believe or virtuous in denying. That nothing was further from their thoughts on the second morning, when they walked in from Bethany, can be easily gathered from what followed.

Jesus had spent the night at the house around which lingers the tradition of Martha, careful about many things, and Mary, who chose the better part in choosing to hear of the Kingdom. Bethany lies on the Jordan side of Olivet, hid from the city; Bethphage is at the junction of the Bethany road with the great public highway; from here is one continuous suburb of hamlet and garden to the foot of the rock from which the city soars above the abyss. It is from this point that the temple first engaged the eye, shining with the morning. From pillared court within court it rose dazzling, roofed with gold. The smoke of the morning sacrifice went up; they heard the choir chanting. But within, beyond the Court of the Gentiles, within the Court of the Men of Israel, which rose tier by tier from the Court of the Women, beyond the holy place where stood the great altar, the Holy of Holies was empty.

This would have been Monday by the most reliable chronology. If they arrived at the temple in the hour after the morning sacrifice, before the sightseeing crowd had well gathered, they would have seen the temple traffic at its worst and most sacrilegious. In the Court of the Gentiles, a wide, tesselated space enclosed with a noble Corinthian colonnade, the noise of the rabble, the bleating of sheep brought for sacrifice, must have struck offensively across the solemn associations awakened in the mind of every devout Jew on first entering the sacred precinct. Across the open court rose the sanctuary from its terrace,

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doors and lintels overlaid with gold and silver. By the Gate Beautiful they went up into the Court of the Women, a handsome colonnaded space into which fifteen thousand worshipers could be crowded. Here, between the columns, they found the tables of the moneychangers; little shops set up along the wall spaces. One can understand how they would have hung together, the Galileans in their brown and white burnooses, around the tall figure of their prophet, ignored by hurrying priests, elbowed by insolent temple attendants, while the sense of what they saw sank into them. From the language used by Jesus when at last he could no longer keep silent, it must have been some extortion; some provincial mulcted of his due exchange; some widow overcharged for a pair of doves, that fanned his wrath into action.

The disturbance, whatever it was, could hardly have extended beyond the sanctuary—the money changers would not have risked a general riot. At the overturning of the first table they would have gathered up their monies, while the vendors of small wares fled, squealing. After all, the man might be a prophet, and the sympathy of the bystanders would certainly have been on his side.

It is reported that Jesus drove out the money changers with a whip, and from that time would permit none of his following to carry through the temple the implement and sign of his trade, as was the common practice, upon his person.

There is a ribald song still extant about the sons of Annas, who had a bazaar within the sanctuary, which shows how Jerusalem went with its tongue in its cheek in respect to the temple management. A more interesting commentary is the fact that not a word of all this leaked through to the Roman authorities. Here was the most influential group of Jerusalemites man-handled and affronted in their own temple, and nothing whatever is heard of the police, no complaint for assault is lodged. It is a commentary on the utter indefensibility of the temple traffic, and the only tribute paid by organized Jewry to the prophetic character of Jesus. In that brief period of hesitation was let slip the occasion to deal with him as an ordinary disturber of public worship. In spite of themselves they were forced to deal with him as a public character.

Deal with him they must, and that speedily. For not only had he driven out the traffic, but he continued to hang about the temple, both that day and the next, supported by his twelve stalwart Galileans, preaching to the people and enforcing, by the moral right of his presence, the embargo on everything not consistent with the traditions of the Sanctuary. And this while there were, perhaps, a million or two pilgrims in the city waiting to be fleeced. Plainly, the man was a nuisance and must be disposed of. They went about it in a manner truly Hebraic.

The first movement was to send a delegation to inquire by what authority he did these things, knowing that he had no Rabbinical

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certificates, and thinking to discredit him with the public, for Hebraism is before all else a religion of authority. Jesus countered with another question.

"The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?"

He had them there; for if they answered, "From heaven," why, then, had they not believed it? And they dared not say "of men," lest the multitude, who counted John a prophet, be moved against them. So, neatly caught between the clefts of their own question, they withdrew from the first encounter, and, in the meantime, Jesus had the ear of the people. He preached there in the temple so full of his message that he snatched it from the very stones which, in wonder, they showed him—for the temple had been forty years in building, and was judged one of the wonders of the world. He drew from the widow, casting her mite into the box of the treasury; he lifted up his eyes from Solomon's porch, and saw the tombs of the prophets whitened newly for the season of the pilgrimage, and found in them the figure of hypocrisy, going smug without and inwardly full of corruption and dead men's bones.

On the very day of the cleaning of the temple, while the rumor of it still ran about the pillars of Solomon's porch, he spoke a parable, in which he quite explicitly stated that publicans and harlots should go into the Kingdom before the chief priests and their following. He scored the Pharisees afresh, devourers of widows' houses, making long prayers for a pretense, seeing in their pious humbug the greatest menace to his teaching. Moving in imminent peril of his life, he moved as freely as among his Galilean hills, preaching in the temple daily and on the Mount of Olives, walking between the orchards, discoursing of the Kingdom. It was as if he understood that he was now at the end of his ministry, and was concerned merely to draw out and define again its salient teaching. In and out of a dozen brilliant parables flashed the doctrine of the Kingdom as a thing to be done, a task set and achieved, a charge to keep. Men believed, and, believing, acted, and in doing were saved . . . for "inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these . . . ye have done it unto me."

That he missed no point of the situation is evident from his appeal to the preaching of John, knowing the Baptist to have had a firmer hold than himself on the popular imagination, and also from the spirit with which he evaded the next trap which they set for him.

Unable, on the one hand, to discredit him with the populace, they sought, on the other, to set him at odds with Pilate. The approach was well calculated on the basis of his being a Galilean, one of that tribe among whom had developed the most invincible opposition to the Roman authority. Now, as one regarding not the person of man, would he or would he not advise them to give tribute to Caesar? But the answer, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," left them exactly where they were

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before—if, in fact, it did not leave them a trifle more discomfited, for he had glanced here at the custom of paying divine honors to emperors, to which they had been a shade too complacent. Then came the Sadducees mocking, with a question trumped up about a resurrection from the dead—a possibility in which they did not in the least believe—and were answered out of their own Pentateuch in the words of their only prophet, Moses. In this fashion Jesus fenced for time, that he might drive home his message.

But the Pharisees, when they heard how he had reduced the Sadducees to silence, plumed themselves and came asking, "which is the great commandment?" None but they themselves knew what advantage they hoped for in the answer to such a question; what came, neither they nor the world has ever been able wholly to handle. Said Jesus:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . . and . . . thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

Then, suddenly wearied of questioning which had no honest query of the heart behind it, he turned on them with an exegetical problem so exactly in their own manner and so impossible to answer that it put an end once for all to that form of inquisition. Balked in wit, the priestly party turned to the one instrument which they understood perfectly, money. With money they might find somewhere in his defenses a weakness; seeking for it by means not unpracticed, they found Judas, the only one of the disciples not a Galilean.

The compounding of Judas with the agents of Caiphas is connected by tradition with an incident that occurred on Wednesday evening at the house of one Simon at Bethany, where the Master was being entertained at supper. No doubt Judas felt gulled and disappointed. Perhaps he had friends in the city to wag a sly finger at him. Here they were at Jerusalem, and no Kingdom: here, after nearly a year of following, still unaccepted, dependant on the chance hospitality of villagers, they who should have feasted in kings' houses! Thirty pieces of silver, about four months' wages, was not much to one who had expected to sit on one of the twelve thrones of Israel; but all that they wanted of him was that he should guide the temple police to his Master when few or none were by. He could have had no idea what was really to be done to Jesus, for the Sanhedrin itself had no notion, and was hard put to it, once they had taken the prophet, to find an accusation against him which would be acceptable to the Roman authorities. And surely, if the man was the Messiah, when the police laid hands on him, he would have to declare himself. So Judas must have mused inwardly while the supper went forward, and the uninvited, in the friendly Eastern fashion, edged up to catch some crumbs of wisdom as they fell from the prophet.

And, as he mused, came a woman having an alabaster box of oint-

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ment, very costly, which she poured upon the head of Jesus. Thus it was done by the rich to guests of great distinction, but the thrifty folk of Bethany were shocked at it as an extravagance. How much more virtuous to have sold the ointment and given the money to the poor! This is what is called an eminently practical suggestion; but the practicality of Prophets is in another sort. "Let her alone," said Jesus; "ye have the poor always with you . . . " subject to our poor mechanical pieties. Once for all, he ranged himself on the side of the generous risks of the faith which, having risked, finds itself set aside for distinguished service.

"Lord"—all they who sat with him might have afterward said —"had we known thou wert to die, we, too, would have anointed thee;" but it is of those who, knowing no more than the rest, act freely on the impulse of the spirit, of whom these things are told in memorial. Judas, who is imagined as protesting most—Judas, who carried the bag for the twelve, and was no doubt elected to that office because of his eminent practicality—found in the incident the touch of futility which inclined him in the high priest's favor. He may even have thought, as is the way with the practical, that Jesus was prone to be feasted and fussed over, and that he would spur him on to his obvious mission, which was to take possession of Jerusalem and declare the Kingdom.

The next day was spent by the little company in retirement among the budding orchards of Olivet, either as a preparation for the Passover, or because they understood that the tide of popular interest, which had set in their favor for a day or two, had rolled back in its accustomed channel. They were swept under by it with scarcely a ripple on the surface of the city's festivity. From the walled hilltop came a murmur like a hive; the valleys were tremulous with the bleating of two hundred thousand lambs led up for the paschal rite. High over it rang the silver trumpets, the chanting choirs, the beat of mystic dances, all the mingled sound of Israel remembering his God magnificently. Processions choked the streets: pilgrim parties, Pilate going ceremoniously to call on visiting sovereignties, and these calling on the Governor again. In the Roman circus, under the wall, there were plays and spectacles.

The backward cast of history has warped out of all proportion the part that was played here by the Man of Nazareth and his twelve. They were, in fact, completely submerged in the great national commemoration. But history has not shown us a more appealing humanness than that of their leader, yearning in the midst of jeopardy for the hour of exalted communion with the race that rejected him, even though to make sure of passing it with his disciples he put forward the supreme observance by a day.

"With desire," he said, "I have desired to eat that Passover with you." To miss nothing of its full flavor, he ventured back within the sacred precinct, where the arm of his enemies reached with power, to

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a room that had been reserved for him—by tradition, in the house of Mark's father. Here, when the shadow of the temple reached to Olivet and the seven branched candlesticks were lit, he repaired with the twelve to an upper chamber to keep the immemorial festival of his people.

Of this, no single authentic detail is preserved to us except what is known of the paschal ritual. That the nearness of his death and the certainty of being betrayed to it by one of his disciples was foremost in his mind, we gather from what was recalled afterward, and also that it was not understood at the time by any of the disciples except, perhaps, Judas. The words reported are unequivocal; but, in the light of the subsequent behavior of the disciples, we conclude that none of the references to his death had yet the force of an announcement. Still less can we accept the personal turn which was read back into the occasion by Paul of Tarsus. All that is historically admissible is that at some point in the ritualistic meal, either when he lifted the broken bread (*this is the bread of misery which our fathers ate in the land of Egypt*), or when the Cup of Blessing was poured, he said: "As often as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me;" that is to say, as often as ye eat the Passover, remember me—a natural, human suggestion, for he knew that he should not drink of the fruit of the vine again in this fashion. This is as far as history dare go; but there is no reason why the believing heart may not go further and stoutly assert its right to the symbol of a communion of spirit of which Jesus himself felt the need.

Another incident of this last supper has come down to us only in that second century record to which reference has been made, but, like the story of the woman taken in adultery, making good its claim by its complete harmony with what we know of Jesus and his manner of teaching. Somewhere near the end of the ritual he took a towel and girt himself, and, pouring water in a basin, he washed the feet of his disciples. But, Peter protesting, he said: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me." And the impulsive Peter, linking the act with the symbol of cleansing, offered himself—not his feet alone, but his head and his hands also. But the words that followed are explicit enough: "Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." In such fashion the man of Nazareth completed the round of his teaching, to forgive, to love and to serve. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."

It was late when the meal was over; Judas had already gone on an errand more than suspected. The others had sung the last of the *Hallel,* that solemn and suggestive song of Israel's triumph.

The hour was upon them.

(*To be continued.*)

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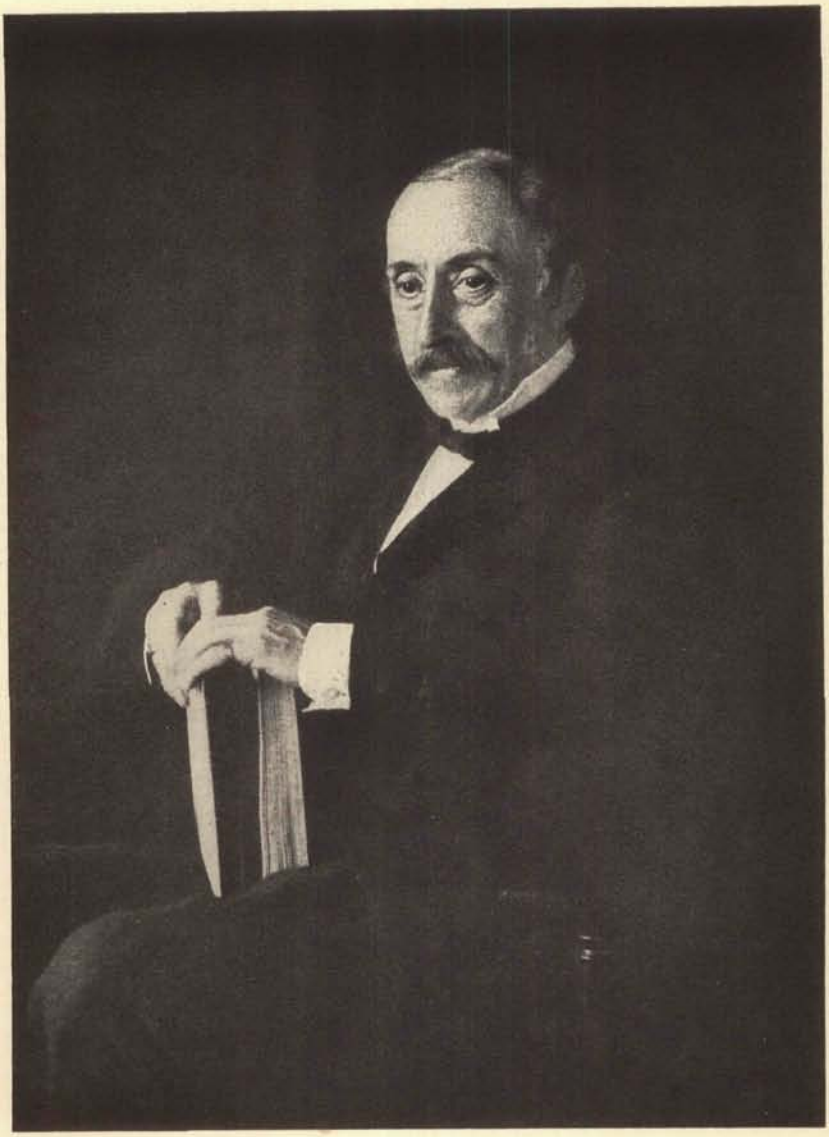

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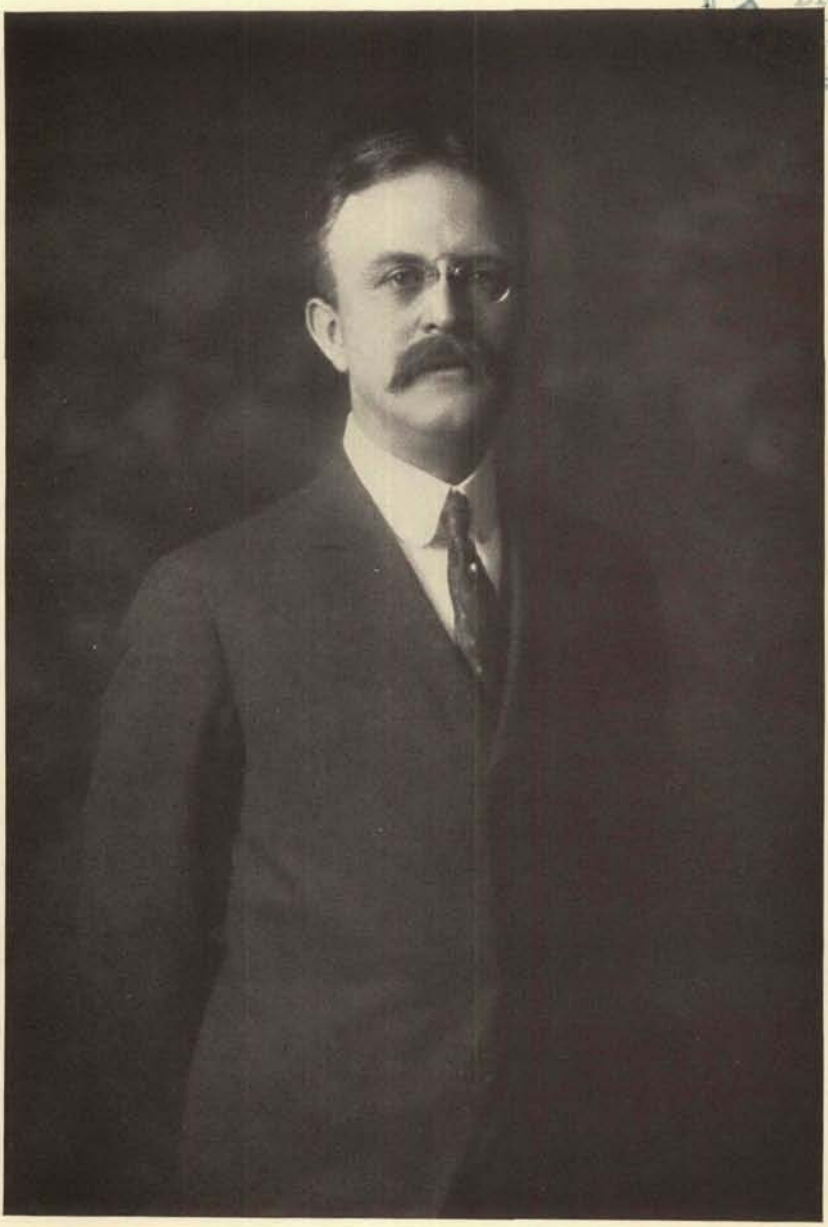

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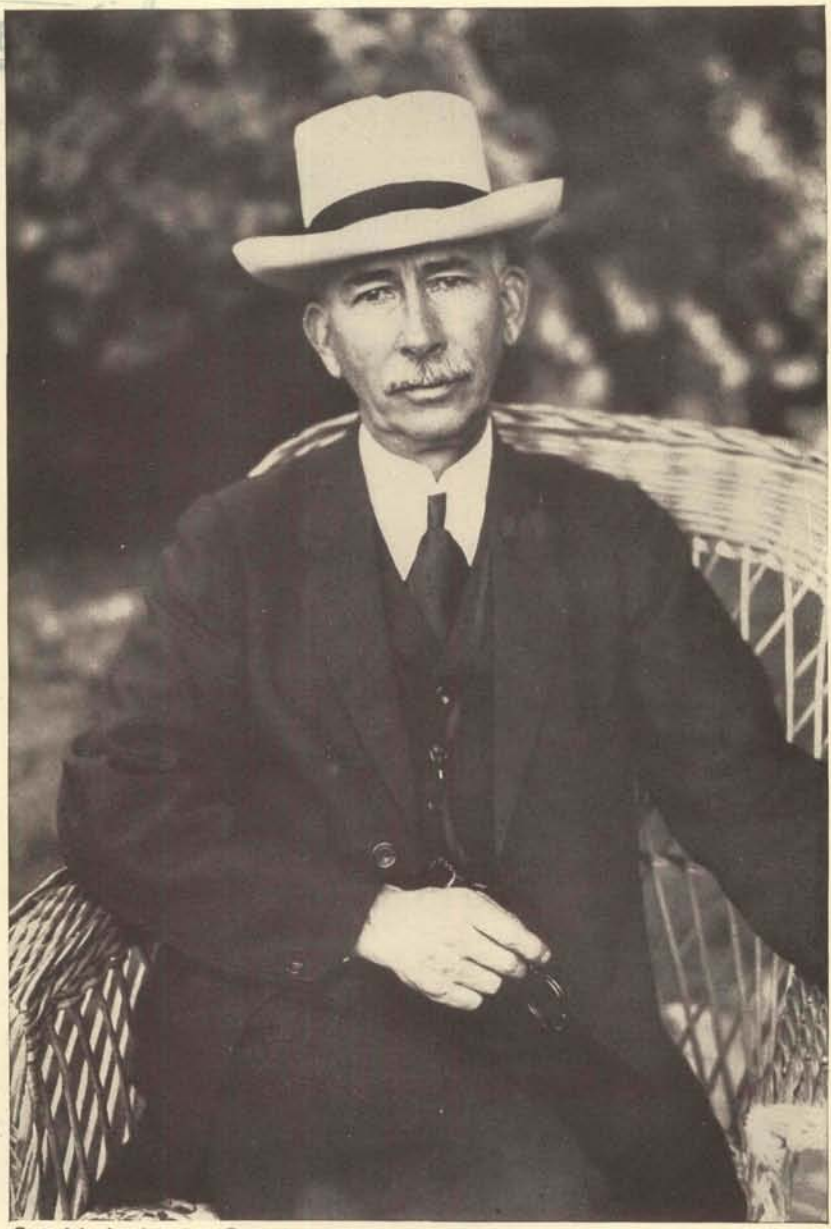

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